



THE TRUE EFFIGIES OF S^r HENRY WOTTON
 K^t EMBASSADOUR IN ORDINARY TO
 THE MOST SERENE REPUBLICKE OF VENICE,
 AND LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEDGE
 Anno Etatis Suae 72



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THE
STATE
OF
CHRISTENDOM:
OR,

A most Exact and Curious
Discovery of many Secret Passages, and Hid-
den Mysteries of the Times.

Written by the Renowned

S^r HENRY WOTTON, K^t.

Ambassadour in Ordinary to the most Serene Re-
publique of *VENICE*, And late Provost
of *EATON COLLEDG.*

L O N D O N,

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THE
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To the Judicious Reader.



The Author of these Politique and Polite discourses, knew the world so well, and the world him, that not to know Sr Henry Wotton, were an ignorance beyond Barbarism, in any who have been conversant in the least measure with any transactions of State: A Knight he was of choice Intellectuals, and noble Extraction, who may be said to have King'd it abroad half his age in Embassies, by representing the person of his Sovereign Prince in most of the Courts of Christendom, amongst the severest and most sagacious sort of Nations; for he was thrice sent Ambassadour to the Republique of Venice, from the most serene Prince James the first King of Great Britain (by whom the Order of Knighthood was conferred upon him.) Once to the States of the United Provinces. Twice to Charls Emanuel Duke of Savoy. Once to the United Princes of Upper Germany in the Convention at Heylbrun. Lastly, He was sent Extraordinary Ambassadour to the Archduke Leopold, the Duke of Wirtemberg. Imperial Cities, Stralsburgh and Ulm, and to the Roman Emperour himself, Ferdinand the second: And however it may be thought by some that after so many great and noble employments, the Provostship of Eaton was a place not considerable enough for a personage of his merit; yet if we consider the sedateness of his temper and spirit, he being of a speculative and quiescent disposition, it seems to have been rather his own choice, then any want of regard, in those times, to a man so highly deserving of the Commonwealth; and consequently, it appears that those weighty affairs he manag'd both at home and abroad with so much honour and reputation, were rather the effects of his zeal to the service of his King and Country, then of any aspiring or ambitious thoughts; seeing he for-
sook

To the judicious Reader.

took the highest places of honour and profit, which he merited at the hands of a great King, for the more contenting enjoyments of a solitary and studious retirement. Had he been never known unto the world until the publishing of his late works called *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, there is in them contained that which may abundantly demonstrate how admirably he was accomplish'd both in the severer and politer Arts. Not to insist upon the many Elogiums deservedly fixt upon his fame by the most learned and judicious persons both Native and Forraign; I shall only insert what the most *Wogud* Poet of this age hath sung of his skill in Tongues,

A Cowley.


He had so many Languages in store,
That only Fame can speak of him in more.

It were but needless therefore to premise any thing concerning these following discourses, written by a person of such a known and celebrated worth, but only this, that by the high quality of his negotiations in sovereign Courts, he had the greatest advantage that could be to feel the pulse of Government, and make inspections into those *Arcana Imperii*, those mysteries of State, which he communicates here to the world, in many choice and judicious Observations, whereby the discerning Reader may be well acquainted with the state of Europe, and th: interest, dependencies, and power of most Princes, together with the occasions and motives of most of the Wars that hapned the last century, whereof some came from slight quarrels; for he tells you that *Charls the Hardy Duke of Burgundy*, made a war for a Cart-load of Sheepskins, in which he breath'd his last: With these Modern observations he intermingles many ancient passages, both of Greeks and Romans, which may much conduce to rectifie and enrich the understanding of the Reader.

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I

THE
S T A T E
O F
CHRISTENDOME.



After that I had lived many years in voluntary exile and banishment, and saw that the most happy and fortunate success, which it pleased the Almighty to send unto my gracious Sovereign against the malicious and hostile Attempts which the *Spanish* Monarch, both openly and covertly, practised against her sacred Person, and invincible State and Kingdom, I began to despair of my long desired return into my native Country, and to consider with my self, with what price I might best redeem my sweet and inestimable liberty. Sometimes I wished that her Majesty had, (as the *Italian* Princes have) many confined and banished men abroad, upon whose heads there are great Fines set, to invite others to kill them, in hope to receive those Fines in recompense of their murder: But my wishes vanished as smoke in the wind, and as long as I dwelt in those cogitations, methought I did nothing else but build Castles in the Air; then I applied my wits to think upon some other means of better hope, and more probability; and supposed that to murder some notable Traytor, or professed enemy to my Prince and Country, might be a ready way to purchase my desire: But the great difficulty to escape unpunished, the continual terror that such an offence might breed unto my conscience, and the perpetual infamy that followeth the bloody Executioners of trayterous Murderers, (for I held it trayterous to kill my friend and acquaintance) made both my heart and my hand to abhor any such action: *Martinus Coriolanus* seemed unto me a most happy man, who, when in revenge of a few mistaken injuries, he had wrought his Country great despight and annoyance, suffered himself with much difficulty, to be intreated by his Wife, his Mother, and the Senate of *Rome* to return home, and to become so great a Friend, as he had been a Foe unto his country. That day should have been more joyful unto me then the day of my birth and nativity, where in I might have seen a Letter from any of my friends, with assurance of my pardon to call me home. But I find my self so much inferiour to *Coriolanus* in good fortune, as I come behind him in manly valour, and other laudible qualities. Whilest I lived in this perplexity, I hapned (by chance) to

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meet with an honest and kind English Gentleman, who was lately come out of *Italy*, and meant to sojourn a few months in *France*, and then to return into *England*; He knew both me and my friends very well: And although his License forbad him to converse with any Fugitives, yet hearing (by common and credible report) that I was not so malicious as the rest of my Countrey-men, but lived only for my conscience abroad, he adventured now and then to use my company, and with me, and in my hearing, to use greater liberty of speech than with any other of our Nation. Whereupon I presumed, that as I was trusted, so I might trust him again; and as he did conceal nothing from me, so I might adventure to reveal to him the secret projects of my inward cogitations: I therefore acquainted him with my earnest desire to return, and with the great difficulty which I found to procure my return; and he perceiving that my words agreed with my wishes, and that my tongue uttered nothing but what my heart thought, promised me faithfully to effect my desire, if I would be content to grant his request: I presuming that he would demand nothing but that which should be both honest and lawful, gave him my faithful promise to satisfy his demand: He accepted my offer, and uttered his mind in this manner.

In my travel I have heard many things which I knew not when I came out of *England*, and no more then I would, and yet much more then I can be well able to answer when I come home; if you will be as willing, as I know you are able, to frame me a good and sufficient answer to all that I have heard, all the friends which I have in *England* shall sail me, but that I will purchase your return home with credit and countenance: And because your promise bindeth you to vouchsafe me this favour; I will as briefly as I can possible, shew you to what points I shall need, and most desire your answer. I heard Princes generally reprehend the *Flemings*, perhaps more boldly then justly, accused of rebellion; the *French* men, I know not how truly, burthened with the same crime; and our Sovereign in my poor opinion wrongfully blamed for aiding both the *French* and *Flemish* Nations. I heard some men to maintain this strange opinion, that the *Turk* had long before this day been utterly subverted, or sorely weakened, had not her Majesty holpen those two Nations, which hindred both the *French* and *Spanish* Kings from imploying their united forces to the utter subversion of the *Turk*. I heard some men charge us with vain-glory, as men that had learned of the vain-glorious Souldier in *Terence*, to brag of our valour and exploits in *France*, where they could hardly believe that we ever obtained the tenth part of that which we boast to have achieved: And others who were better acquainted with our Histories, and more affected with our conquests, do wonder and marvell greatly how we could lose in a very few years all that our Predecessors got with much effusion of blood, and with great difficulty. I heard the *Spaniard* (our mortal and professed Enemy) highly commended, for that his Predecessors could of a mean Earl, make themselves mighty Monarchs, and because that he with his wisdom doth maintain and keep all that they got: I heard his might magnified, his Policy admired, his Government extolled, his Wisdom commended, his Wealth feared, and all his Actions justified: I heard contrary-wise our *Portugal* Voyage condemned, the Cause thereof disliked, the Success dispraised, the Entertainment given unto *Don Antonio* disallowed, and her Majesty accused to have given the *Spaniard* many and divers occasions of discontentment: The death of the late Queen of *Scots*; The intercepting of certain monies sent into the Low Countries, The proceeding against Catholics,

the

the expulsion of the Popes authority out of *England*, the sending away of the *Spanish* Embassadour in some disgrace, and our League and Amity with the United Provinces, are the principal causes that displeased the *Spaniard*. I heard it imputed unto her Majesty as a fault, that her Grace continued in league with the late *French* King, who was charged to be a Heretick, a Waster of his Revenues, a Lover of dishonest women, a Murderer of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*, and a Prince neither able nor worthy to govern so great and mighty a Kingdom as *France*. I heard the *Spaniards* attempts and enterprises against *England* justified, because our Queen was excommunicated, her people not able nor willing to help and succour her, her Subjects overcharged with unaccustomed Subsidies, our Forces not sufficient to encounter with his strength, and our Realm easie to be subdued by Forraigners. I heard again some men condemn the *Spaniard* of great folly, for ruling the Low Countries by strangers; for not granting liberty of conscience unto his Subjects in those Countries, for taking upon him to enforce them to alter and change their Religion; for intending to reduce all Protestants to the ancient profession of Papistry, for aiding the Leaguers in *France*, and for attempting to make himself Monarch of the world. I heard some think it a thing impossible to subvert him, others suppose it to be a very easie matter to overthrow him, and many desirous to know the means how to weaken him; I heard the tumults of *Aragon* diversly construed; the murder of *Escovedo* sundry wayes censured, and the proceedings against *Antonio Perez* justified by some, and condemned by others. To be short, I heard many say more then I can well and readily remember; and yet not so much as I can be content to hear in praise of my Countrey, and in disgrace of *Spain*; in commendation of our Princess, and in dispraise of the *Spaniard*; in allowance and approbation of all her actions, and in reprehension of all, or most part of his Enterprises. These things were in substance all that I heard; some to my comfort, and others to my grief: And if in clearing all these things you will vouchsafe me your paines, I will warrant your return within a very short while, after that you shall have sent me your Treatise. Your credit with Cardinal *Allen*, your acquaintance with *Morgan*, your Friendship with *Thomas Throgmorton*, your conversation with *Charles Pagett*, and your long experience in forraign affairs, hath undoubtedly enabled you to give me a full satisfaction to all these demands. If you run through them lightly, you shall rather point at them then please me; If you dwell upon them long, you may fear to be thought too tedious: And yet because you have leisure enough to handle them at large, I shall take great delight to see and read them somewhat largely handled.

Such was his speech; and this my short reply. In hope of performance of your promise, I will undertake your task; not because I take my self able to answer your expectation, but to shew you that I will hazard my poor credit to recover my dear Countrey; and because I trust you will use my labours for your instruction, and not to my discredit; You may be instructed if you read them advisedly, and I discredited if you make them common. To be short, with assurance of his secrecy, I undertook his task; if he shall hold his promise, I shall think my labours well bestowed: if they may procure my return, I shall have employed my pains to my contentment. And if my pains may pleasure and satisfie the Readers, their satisfaction shall double my joyes, when I shall attain safe and free access unto the long desired place of my Nativity.

The singular affection which you bear unto me, and the great good opini-

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on which unworthily you have conceived of me, have greatly deceived you, in making especial choice of me, as of one better able than any other of your wife and discreet friends, to deliver unto you a sound and sure Judgment of the present Estate of Christendome. You see *Flanders* in trouble; *France* in Arms; *Scotland* in division; and the whole remainder of the universal Christian world, either (as Neutrals) idly looking and gazing on their miseries, or (as men interess'd in the same cause) voluntarily ayding and abetting them, or their enemies: This sight seemeth unto you very strange, because that professing one Christ Crucified, fighting under one Master, and bearing the general name of Christians, they give occasion unto the professed enemy of Christianity, by taking advantage of their unnatural dissention, to to enlarge his (already too large) Confines and Territories. In truth you have some cause to marvel hereat; But if it may please you to remember, That things in common are commonly neglected; that perils which be far off, and not presently imminent, are little regarded; That dangers which are at hand, and hang dayly over our heads, carry us away with their due consideration from the vigilant care and providence which we ought to have of common Enormities: And lastly, that this careless negligence of the common Adversary, is no new thing, but a matter of great Antiquity, and long continuance: You will leave to wonder thereat, and begin to pray unto the Almighty (as I do) to remove the Causes of our unnatural dissention; to change the minds of our malicious Christians; and to illuminate the hearts of our lawful Princes; that they may with the eyes of Indifferency and Piety look upon the calamity of their loving Subjects: Consider the causes and motives thereof; consult upon the ways and means to redress the same: and after due deliberation, put in present practise those remedies, which unto their grave and singular Wisdom shall seem most meet and convenient: I and you be but silly Ship-Boys in this huge Vessel, tossed with the raging Waves of the unmerciful Seas: We may look upon the Masters, behold the Pilots, and be ready at the Call and Command of the other Officers, and this is all that we can do; and who so looketh for more at our hands, erreth as much in your Opinion, as you are deceived in your Choice: But the Interest which you have in me, and the hopes which I conceive of you, make me rather to hazard my poor Credit, then to incur your heavy Displeasure: You may, and I hope you will, conceal, or excuse my follies; but I would not, and God forbid I should, deserve the least diminution that may be, of your accustomed favours towards me.

In hope therefore of your Secresie, I will boldly enter into this Tragical Discourse; The chief Actors whereof are, The mighty Monarch of *Spain*; The merciful Queen of *England*; The unfortunate *Don Antonio* of *Portugal*; The valiant King of *France*; The Imperious Prelate of *Rome*; The sleeping and secure States of *Germany*; The Politique and Grave Senate of *Venice*; And the weak, but wise, Princes of *Italy*: *Spain* coveteth more then his own; *Portugal* and *France* would gladly recover their own: *Rome* and *England* labour and indeavour only to conserve and maintain their own: *Germany* feareth not the peril that is far off: *Venice* temporizeth wisely; and the rest of *Italy* sheweth an outward affection to him that is mightiest, but inwardly wisheth his weakness, and the good and prosperous success of his Adversaries.

This is in brief the open and hidden *Idea* of the present Estate of Christendome, wherein the Princes are (as you see) many; their Designs (as you have heard) too, *viz.* to conserve, and to increase their own; and the means

to effect and accomplish their Desires (as you shall understand) many in number, and divers in nature.

Of the Princes, their Designs, and their Means, I will deliver unto you my opinion in General, and in Particular. Generally: You see, and I consider, that by the Competencies, Pretensions, Titles, Quarrels, and Debates of all these Princes, the general Estate of Christendom is greatly weakened, and the strength of the common Adversary daily increased; That all their Realms and Dominions are either molested by continual Wars, within the very Bowels, and poor inward parts of the same; or grieved with intollerable charges, in sending out Men and Munition, with other things necessary, unto the said Wars; That their Subjects are greatly impoverished, by reason of these Charges, and their hearts sorely oppressed with grief and anguish because of these troubles: Lastly, That some of these Princes fain would, and cannot, others can and will not, redress those Enormities. Now seeing all this, you cry out with the time against the time; with the time you accompany their just complaints with your sorrows, who lament the iniquity of the time; and against the time, both you and they say, that it is more wicked, dangerous, and troublesome then ever it was: You think it impossible to find a Magistrate so just as *Aristides*; An Emperor so good as *Trajan*; A King so fortunate as *Augustus*; A Prince so valiant as *Alexander*; A Captain so chaste as *Scipio*; A Councillor so faithful as *Hephestion*; A General so expert as *Hannibal*; A Conqueror so merciful as the *Romans*: You see no Princes in this our corrupt Age, surnamed Gods, as was *Demetrius* amongst the Athenians; The delight and love of the people, as was *Titus* amongst the Romans; The wonder of the world, as was *Otho* the third, amongst the Germans; The Founder of their Cities, as was *Caius Marius* amongst the Romans; The Father of the common people, as was *Cyrus* amongst the Persians; The Son of fortune, as was *Charles* the Great amongst the Bohemians; The Buckler of the Common-wealth, as was *Fabius Maximus*; Or the Sword of the Country, as was *Marcus Marcellus*: You rather find that some Princes may be called Tyrants, as was *Dionysius*; The Scourge of God, as was *Attila*; Epicures and God *Bacchus*, as was *Antonius*; Lords and cruel Governors, as was *Cambises*; Covetous and Merchants, as was *Darius*; Lecherous and Effeminate, as was *Sardanapalus*. You see no Honours done unto Princes of our time, as was done in times past; If they be in Adversity, their Subjects put not on mourning weeds, as the Romans did when *Manlius* was in trouble: If they be in Prison, the Clergy giveth not their Treasure, and the Commonalty the fourth part of their goods, for their Liberty, as the Clergy and Commonalty of *England* did for the Ransome of *R. 1.* If God calleth them to his mercy, neither do the women bewail their deaths ten Moneths together, as the *Roman Dames* did the death of *Coriolanus*, nor the men poll their Heads, their Horses and their Mules, or fill the Air with cries, the Rivers with tears, or the Fields with continual lamentations, as the Persians did for *Masistias*: But contrary wise, some of them are wrongfully driven from their Kingdoms, as is *Don Antonio of Portugal*; others continually molested with Domesticall Wars, as is *Henry King of France*; some untimely done to death by their unnatural Subjects, as was the late French King; others unjustly persecuted by their unmerciful enemies, as is the merciful Queen of *England*; you see the Godly called ungodly, as the Princes of *France* and *England* are commonly termed Heretiques; and those which are far from the Catholique faith, called Catholiques, as the present King of *Spain*,

Carion.

Plutarch.

Plutarch.
Herodotus.

De Hallon.
Plutarch.

Carion.
Plutarch.
Herodotus.

Titus Livius.

Holinshed.
Polid. Virg.

Plutarch.

Herodot.

Don Antonio.
Apology.
Rittbergius

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Spain, and a few of his Predecessors: You see Subjects licensed to rebel against their Sovereigns, as in *France* and *England*; You see Fathers bear Arms against their children, and Brethren war against the seed of their Mothers Womb, as they do in *France* and *Flanders*. You see Fields that were wont to be fruitful, to lye now barren and unfertile: Cities that were rich and populous, to be poor and desolate, Merchants that lived in wealth and prosperity, to languish in need and penury: Gentlemen that neither wanted ease or pleasure, to lack all manner of rest and contentment: And lastly, Men, Women, and Children, that knew not what murder and massacre meant, cruelly murdered, and daily massacred: You see *Germany* pestered with divers Religions; *Poland* infected with sundry Heresies; *France* divided into many opinions; *Flanders* distressed by plurality of Religions; and *England* troubled with *Genevian* Puritans, and obstinate *Barrowists*: You see in all or some of these Regions, Monasteries subverted, Religious Houses destroyed, Ecclesiastical living abused, and Benefices unworthily collated: You see Justice corruptly administered, Laws dissolutely executed, good counsel negligently followed, and dissembling flattery more then diligently embraced: You see new charges daily invented, unaccustomed Subsidies yearly imposed, extraordinary grievances hourly practised, and unknown Offices unadvisedly established: You see secret wars under the name of peace, hidden enemies under the colour of amity, privy seditions under the pretence of ancient confederacies: You see Nobility to degenerate in vertue from their Ancestors; Sons to vary in opinion from their Fathers; Neighbours to dissent in Religion with their next Inhabitants; and Judges not to agree in matters of Justice, with their fellows in Office: You see the *Puritan* ready in outward appearance to dye for his Religion; the *Anabaptist* for his; the *Papist* for his; the *Lutheran* for his; the *Barrowist* for his; and other Sectaries for their several Sects and Heresies. Briefly, you see Offices dearly sold, which were wont to be freely given: Women impudently bold, which were accustomed to be honestly minded: Men transformed into mis-guised Atires, and children brought up and misled in unknown vices and imperfections. Now, seeing all this, you fear that variety of Religions may subvert the Countries wherein it is suffered, as it did in *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; That new exactions may chance to cause a Rebellion in the Regions wherein they are levied, as it did in *France* and *Flanders*: That Princes degenerating from their Antecessors, may be driven from their Imperial Crowns, as they have been in *Spain* and *Germany*: That Towns not inhabited, may cause penury amongst the Nobility, want amongst the Merchants, and extream poverty amongst the other Inhabitants, as they do in *France* and *Flanders*. And lastly, That all and every one of these Mischiefs and Miseries, may breed further inconveniencies, as they have done in other Countries, in which they have been, either in old time, or within our memory, practised. This sight therefore, and this fear, ingendreth in your heart a just and worthy dislike of the present time, and a great desire and delight in the Age of your fore-Fathers: You condemned the one because it is (as you think) very troublesome and vitious; and you commend the other, because it was (as you suppose) very peaceable and vertuous: But if it may like you to confer the one with the other, you shall find them both in like manner reprehensible, and with equal measure laudable: For first you are to remember, that all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, represent in outward shew and appearance, the figure of a humane body, and have (as our bodies have) their times of health, and their times of sick-

Dubravi-
us.

Dinothus
de Bello
Belgico.

sickness; their seasons of prosperity, and their seasons of adversity; sometimes they flourish with wealth and plenty, other times they languish in want and penury: And as in all Ages, as well as in ours, mens bodies have been disquieted, altered, distempered, yea and destroyed with burning Agues, Pestilent Fevers, contagious Plagues, and other mortal Diseases; so in other times, as well as at this present, Common-wealths and Kingdoms, resembling therein (as I have said) our natural bodies, have suffered distemperatures, alterations, changes, and subversions, by intolerable exactions, domestical dissensions, forrain wars, and other such like inconveniencies, as trouble the present Estate of Christendome.

Cast your Eye upon all the same Regions which are now under the general name Christendom, and see whether in the very Age, or immediately after the Age of those vertuous and good Princes (of whose glorious Titles Histories make mention) they felt not, in like manner as we do, the heavy hand of Gods Indignation; Who (either to plague and punish the sins of the Fathers in their Children; or to make us know and remember, that our Princes, although they are constituted and appointed in higher degree then we, yet they are subject both to his Will and Pleasure, and to our imperfections and vices, as well as we) sendeth us most commonly a wicked or foolish Son to rule over us, after a good and wise Father: So he sent (as we may read in holy Scripture) *Roboam* after *Solomon*, *Manasses* after *Hezekias*, *Jehohaz* after *Josias*, *Jehoram* after *Jehosaphat*, *Abaz* after *Jotham*; So sent he (as we read in profane Histories) *Nero* after *Augustus*, *Dionisian* after *Vespasian*, and *Commodus* after *Marcus Aurelius*; All bad and wicked children to Rule and Govern after their good and vertuous Fathers.

So sent he (as we find in our English Chronicles) King *John*, *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second and Third, and *Henry* the Sixth; That their Jurisdiction, Wickedness, Folly and Cruelty, might not only succeed, but also illustrate the Wisdom, Goodness, Prudence, and Lenity of their Predecessors: for as white appeareth more clear and bright, being placed nigh unto black; so vertue is more commendable when it is conferred with vice; and the profits arising thereby are more esteemed, when the incommodities which always accompany vice and wickedness, do immediately, or not long after, succeed them.

And surely, as God herein sheweth his Might and Omnipotency, so he maketh us also see hereby his Divine Wisdom, and heavenly Providence; For, since he hath distinguished Region from Region; some by Rivers, others by Seas; some by Mountains, and others by Desarts: And in these Regions he hath made the people of divers natures, and of sundry humors; some inclined to Peace, others given to War; some to be ruled by gentleness, and others not to be governed but by rigor and cruelty: For the conservation of this distinction, and for the preservation of these people, he hath found it good and expedient to set over them Princes of divers Qualities, and sundry Natures; that agreeing with the Subjects in exterior dispositions, the inward affection may not always be perverted by outward inequalities. And because in his unspeakable Wisdom he knoweth that if he should give unto every Kingdom a continual Race of conquering and vertuous Princes, neither the Rivers nor the Seas, the Mountains nor the Desarts, should contain or restrain their unbridled Ambition, from molesting and invading the Regions which are nigh or far from them, whereby the distinction which he hath set amongst them, might be utterly subverted; It hath seldom pleased him

Plutarch.
Justinus.

Carion.

Du Haillan

The same
Author.
with Pol.
Virg. and
Hector
Boetius.

to bless any one Kingdom with two Princes of like minds, or of like vertues; Hence it cometh, that as in *Rome* they had their *Pompey*, in *Macedon* their *Alexander*, in *Persia* their *Cyrus*, in *Egypt* their *Antiochus*, and in *France* their *Charles*, which for their continual and happy Conquests were surnamed the GREAT. So in the same Kingdomes, aswell as in others, they have had their Princes, who for their Pusillanimity, Losses, and ill Fortune, might worthily be baptized by the Surnames of *Weaklings*, and *Unfortunate*. Hence it cometh, that the Empire of the whole world passed from the *Chaldeans* to the *Medes*, from the *Medes* to the *Persians*, from them to the *Gracians*, from the *Gracians* to the *Romans*, from the *Romans* to the *French-men*, and from the *Frenchmen* to the *Germans*. Hence it cometh, that *Italy* hath triumphed over *France*, *France* over *Italy*; *England* over *Scotland*, and *Scotland* sometimes (although very seldom) over *England*. Hence it cometh (to be short) that what the Fathers have got, the children have lost; what the Conquerors added to their ancient Kingdoms, their Successors either cowardly or negligently, voluntarily, or forcibly, suffered to be distracted and dislevered from their Kingdomes.

And as the Empire passed from Nation to Nation, so their calamities, and the happiness accompanying the Empire and the Emperours, also went from people to people; for there was never Conquerour that commanded not the conquered to be obedient unto his will and pleasure, nor Nation subdued, which did not accomodate himself and his nature unto the disposition and commandment of the Subduer. Then if the Conqueror was weak and gentle, the conquered lived in ease and pleasure; if severe and cruel, they wanted no manner of rigor or cruelty; if poor and needy, they supplied his wants and penury; if wanton and lecherous, they satisfied his lusts and appetite; If covetous and an Extortioner, they were subject to Taxes and Subsidies, if unjust and unrighteous, they suffer wrongs and injuries; briefly, if any way ill given, or ill disposed, they seldom gave themselves to virtue and goodness: Such therefore as was the Conqueror, such were the conquered; and whatsoever it pleased him to prescribe, that they were inforced to perform. His manner of attire was their fashion in apparel; his Will served them for Lawes, his new Ordinances altered their old Constitutions; his meanest Subjects commanded the best of their Nobility, and his strange and forraign Language, became their natural and Mother tongue. If they had Lands, his Courtiers enjoyed them; if Daughters, his Favorites married them; if Wives, his followers deflowred them; if riches, his Souldiers shared them; if Servants, his Slaves commanded them. Since then many Nations have been subdued, and men of divers natures have subdued them: Since conquests have been from the beginning of the world, and conquerors have always commanded in the world: Since Force hath ever been an enemy unto Justice, and Equity never bore sway where Arms swayed all things: Since Might overcometh Right, and Blood asketh Blood; What man liveth in this Age, whose Predecessors endured not the torments that he suffereth? Saw not the miseries that he feeleth? Tasted not the bitterness that he swalloweth? Felt not the wrongs that he supporteth? Lost not the blood that he loseth? The Sun shineth now as it hath done, the Stars keep the course they were wont to do, the Sea ebbeth and floweth as it ever did, and the Rivers run the same way which they always ran; I mean, (and you may understand how I mean) that all things proceeding from nature, duly keep and observe their Natures: I mean therefore (and you may perceive how I mean) that as long as nature hath created, and

shall

shall create Princes of diverse dispositions, so long their Subjects have been and shall be subject unto contrary fortunes; unto good, if they be good and godly; and unto bad, if they be naught and wicked. In the good they have enjoyed, and shall enjoy the benefit of Peace: In the bad, they have felt, and shall feel the discommodities of War. In the good, they had and shall have all things which they desire: In the bad, they wanted, and shall want nothing that may discontent them: In the good, their estate was and will be such as you commend: In the bad, their condition was and shall be such as you condemn. For as Princes retain the Prerogatives given and granted unto Princes, so Subjects maintain still the conditions and qualities incident and proper unto Subjects. Every Prince hath his qualities, and every sort of people hath his conditions: The *Spaniard* varieth from the *Italian*, the *Italian* from the *French*, the *French* from the *German*, the *German* from the *English-man*, and the *English-man* from the *Scots*.

Mores gentium.
Munster.

And such as all and every one of these Nations have been, such they will be as long as they do and shall inhabit the same Climate, and receive breath from the same Air. And as these Nations naturally hate one another, so by nature they desire not to be subject one unto another; and therefore, if against their nature, one of them chance to have never so little authority over the other, the one commandeth imperiously, and the other obeyeth most unwillingly: and yet it so hapneth oftentimes, that the Commander is commanded; and they that once obeyed, many times command. So did *Padua* command *Venice*, and now *Venice* commandeth *Padua*: So did *Rome* rule *Spain*, and now *Spain* ruleth *Rome*: So did *France* sway the Empire of *Germany*, and now *Germany* precedeth *France*: So did *France* command the King of *Navar*, and now *Navar* either doth or should command *France*: So did *Portugal* hate *Spain*, and now doth *Spain* rule over *Portugal*: So did *Italy* bear sway over most part of *Christendom*, and now some part of *Christendom* is Mistres over *Italy*: And when things happen as these do, contrary to nature, contrary to mens expectations, contrary to mens desires, can there be Peace, where there are so many occasions of War? Love, where there is such cause of hatred? Upright dealing, where there are so many motives and incitements unto wrong? Is it possible that proud men should agree with the humble and meek? Plain dealers, with common Deceivers? Men of peace, with men of war? Simple Subjects, with subtile Princes? Especially since Kings of strange natures or Countries never ruled well or long, people varying from them in nature or conditions. Whence came it that the *Danes* were driven out of *England*, the *French-men* out of *Naples*, the *English-men* from *France*, and of late years the *Spaniards* out of *Flanders*? Forsooth, because Conquerors are odious; and why are they odious? truly because they are most commonly insolent. And wherefore are they insolent? verily because they think it lawful for them to do what they list. And what moveth them to be of that mind? The good opinion conceived of themselves, and the bad conceit which they have and hold of the Conquered. What think they of themselves? marry, that they are valiant, happy, victorious and fortunate. And what is their opinion of the Conquered? Undoubtedly they hold them for Cowards, base minded, vile Slaves, and effeminate persons. And what are the effects of these sundry opinions? Certainly that the Con-

Fr. Lean.
Guido Do-
nato.
Tit. Liv.
Du Hailan
Carion.

Terapha de
vitis Reg.
Hispan.

Polid. Vir.
Holinshed.
Guicardin.
Paradin.
Dinothus
de bello
Belgico.
Gio. Giov.
Pontavo
della guer-
ra di Na-
poli.

querors heaping cruelty upon cruelty, and the Conquered seeking all means possible to free and mancipate themselves from bondage and servitude, they by negligence commit many errors, and these by wary circumspection and providence, take advantage of their follies: Whence they lose their conquest, and these recover their Liberty.

Nicolle
Giles An-
nales. de
Aquitanie.
Du Haillan
Polid. Virg.
Holinshed.
Hect. Bo-
tius.

I take oftentimes great delight to read our English Chronicles, and especially the Reigns of *Edward* the Third, and of *Henry* the Fifth, because I see therein the continual success which they both had against the Frenchmen; It delighteth me greatly to consider what sway *Edward* the black Prince bare through all Christendom; to see how Princes Court-ed him; to read how Kings fought unto him; to behold how he restored Kings to their Kingdoms, and drove Usurpers from their Usurpations; To remember how valiantly he fought at *Poitiers* and *Cressy*, two of the most famous Battels that ever were fought in *Europe*; To Record how he took the French King, and most part of the French Nobility Prisoners; How he brought the King and them into *England*; how reverently he carried himself towards the Captive Prince; how Honourably he was received by his Father and his Subjects; and how lovingly the two Kings entertained one another, and in the end departed one from the other: But my joy is turned into sorrow, and my delight into grief, when I see that the Frenchmen naturally hating Englishmen; that the Prince forcibly overcharging the Conquered with new Subsidies, and unaccustomed Tributes; that the Gascoins disloyalty forsaking their obedience unto their natural Prince, and that the French King unkindly taking hold of the occasions that were offered unto him; they with him, and he with them, set upon the poor Prince when he was unprovided, invaded his Country: when he thought little of their coming, and drove him into *England*, who had driven them out of *France*. The like happened unto *Henry* the fifth, and his Successors, for the one was not so fortunate in Conquering, as the other was unfortunate in his losses; but hereof hereafter: And now more plainly to my purpose, let me confer the miseries of this Age, with the calamities of former times. They that inveigh against the present State, wonder at many things; which I will begin in order, and let you see and understand, that in times past all things were in as evil case, as they are at this present.

They first wonder that the common Adversary of Christendom being in Arms, and ready to invade part of *Austria*; the civil Wars in *France* and *Flanders* cease not, but continue in as great fury, rage and extremity as ever they did; That the Princes of Christendom labour not to appease and finish the said Wars, but rather nourish and maintain them; That the Popes Holiness (whose principal use and commendation hath been, and is, to set Princes at unity, which be at variance) indeavoureth not to reconcile, but to animate them in their Quarrels, who have taken unjust, or not very just occasions to war one against another; And that by this common negligence, the common enemy is not repulsed, but encouraged to increase his over-large Confines and Territories.

To this I will Answer before I come unto other Points. This negligence (as I have said before) is no new thing, nor these troubles in *France* and *Flanders* a strange President; nor the Causes moving or continuing the same, are such as never hapned in any other Age: They therefore who blame our time for this respect, should remember that the *Turk* is grown

grown unto his greatness by the dissention of Christian Princes only. And that they may the better perceive herein I report a manifest truth; I will prove as much as I have said, by many examples: It is not unknown unto them that be conversant in Histories, That the *Turks* first beginning was very base and obscure; That his power was weak and feeble, and his Dominion small and of less moment, which he hath enlarged by taking advantage of the discord and variance of Christian Princes; who, when they have been in Arms against him for aid in the defence of the common Cause, have overthrown the common Cause by sudden jars and debates which arose both untimely and unfortunately amongst themselves. About the year 1106. *Baldwin* being Successor unto his Brother *Godfrey of Bulloin*, Duke of *Lorrain*, in the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, the Christians besieged *Carra* in *Mesopotamia*, and having with continual Siege and sundry Batteries, driven the same unto great extremities, they that were in the City determined to yeild themselves unto the mercy of the Christians, amongst whom suddenly there arose a strife and contention whose the City should be, and so they deferred the entering thereof, until that controversie was decided; in which interim there came such great succor of the *Turks* and *Moors*, that they overcame the *Christians*, and cut all their throats: In like manner the *Christians* laying Siege unto *Damasco*, and having equalled the Walls thereof with the ground, through discord and dissention growing suddenly amongst them, they departed without taking the same, and thought it better to leave it unto the Infidels, then for one Christian to see it in the possession of another. And not long after, the *Turk*, by the departure of *Conrad* the Third, Emperor of the *Romans*, and of *Lewis* the French King, who returned to their homes by reason of civil Wars, begun in *Germany* by *Gulfin*, a Rebel of the Empire, the Christians lost the whole County of *Edissa*, and whatsoever else they held in *Mesopotamia*. Furthermore, *Baldwyne* the seventh King of *Jerusalem*, being dead, and leaving behind him one only Infant, while *Guydo Lusignian*, and *Raymond*, Earl of *Tripoli*, Brethren in Law unto the King, contended who should succeed him, *Saladyne* King of *Damasco*, hearing of their contentions, secretly sent word unto the Earl *Raymond*, that if he would circumcise himself, he would help and assist him with all his Forces against *Guido*, and make him King of *Jerusalem*; unto which his offer, although the Earl gave not open ear at that time, yet by outward shews he declared his good liking and delight therein, and became *Saladines* great friend and confederate, who seeing the Earls inclination, favour, and readiness, assembled presently a great Army of *Moors* and *Turks*, and set upon the City *Tyberriades*, belonging unto the Earl *Raymond* (for so it was secretly agreed betwixt them) thereby to make his Brother in Law, *Guydo Lusignian* to come to succor him, and then either to kill him, or to take him by the Earls treachery, as they indeed took him in a certain Battel wherein all the Christians were slain; and *Saladine* took *Jerusalem* and all *Palestina*, in the Moneth of *October*, in the year 1187. And *Raymond* in hope that *Saladine* would perform his promise, circumcised himself; but he failed of his purpose; For the *Turk* was so far from keeping of his word, that he drave *Raymond* from all that he had in possession; whereupon he dyed suddenly, as some say, and others write that he fell into such a desperation, that he hanged himself.

That the
Turk is
grown great
by the dis-
sention of
Christian
Princes;

Mar. Arro-
go.
Pietro
Mexias.
Illecas.
Du Haillan
Carions
Cron.
Guyl: Ar-
chives.
Di Tyro
nella Histo-
ria della
guerra Hie-
rusalemme.

The State of Christendom.

So likewise by the discord of the Inhabitants of the City of *Acon*, the *Moors* and *Turks* flew above 30000. Christians; And the *Tartarians* came into *Hungary* and *Polonia*, and destroyed both the one and the other *Armenia*.

The Emperor *Frederick*, Surnamed *Barbarossa*, and *Philip* King of *France*, together with *Richard* the first, King of *England*, lamenting the late loss of *Ferusalem*, resolved to combine themselves, and with their united Forces to recover the same; And being come unto *Suega*, and having obtained divers great and important Victories, by reason of discord and dissention betwixt the two Kings; the *French* King not only returned into *France*, but also made War upon King *Richard* in his absence, for the Dukedome of *Normandy*; which King *Richard* understanding (although he was then in a readines to win *Ferusalem*, and did great hurt daily unto the Infidels, insomuch that *Saladine* purposed to yeild *Ferusalem* up into his hands) returned home into his Country, leaving the most honourable Enterprize which he had begun; And the *Turks* (who were sorely decayed and weakned in strength) through the benefit of his sudden departure, not only recovered that which they had once determined to give over unto the Christians as already lost, but also drove them from those places which before his departure they quietly possessed.

It is likewise Recorded of *Frederick* the Second, that he being excommunicated by *Gregory* the ninth; and having no other means to purchase his Absolution, determined to go unto *Asia*, and to recover *Ferusalem* at his own proper Charges: Where the Almighty so favoured him, that *Ferusalem* was delivered unto him by composition, and he was Crowned King thereof upon *Easter* day, in the year of our Lord 1229. and because he was also King of *Sicily*, the Kings thereof at this day bear the name of Kings of *Ferusalem*; But whilst this Emperor was busied in the Wars and Affairs of the Holy Land, the Pope maligning him for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, procured him secret enemies in *Italy*, mighty Adversaries in *Germany*, and such Rebels in every place where there was any thing appertaining unto him, that the good Emperor was constrained to return, and to imploy his whole power and strength for the recovery and conservation of his own; After whose departure, the Christians, by the Popes Counsel, breaking the Truce which the Emperor had taken with the *Turk* for their advantage, and dividing themselves into Factions, by the imitation and example of *Italy*, (which was divided into *Guelphians* and *Gibbelines*) made civil Wars one against another; And when the other part was assaulted by the *Turks* and *Infidels*, they did not only not help one another, but of set purpose, the one part assisted the very *Moors* against the other, by whom they were both destroyed in a very short time, and *Ferusalem* yielded up again unto the enemies.

I might tell how *Constantinople*, by the discord of the *Græcians*; how *Anatolia*, by the same cause, and the subtilty of *Ottamon*; how *Caria*, *Licaonia*, and *Phrygia*, by the like occasion; how *Harly* and *Andrynopolis*, by the very self same means; and how by reason of the debate and controversie betwixt *Emanuel Palaeologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, and the King of *Serua*, and the *Valachians*; all *Albania*, *Velona*, *Salona*, *Romanca*, and *Thracia*, were subdued and taken by the *Turk*.

I might tell you how that the discord betwixt *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*,

gen, and of Naples, and the Venetians, and betwixt Sextus the Pope, Francis Sforza Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, enforced the poor Venetians, who otherwise were not able to withstand their domestical Enemies, to give the Turk Chalcedonia, a principal City of Anatolia, together with the Island of Stalemina, otherwise called Lemnos, and an hundred thousand Duckets in ready money, and eight thousand of yearly Tribute.

I might tell you (as Lewis Fuscari Embassadour of Venice, in an Oration that he made unto Pope Pius the second, told him) That the contentions betwixt Christian Princes have been so many and so obstinate, that the Turk by reason of them possesseth two Empires, which be Constantinople, and Trapezonda: Four principal Kingdomes of Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt. Twenty great Provinces, and two hundred fair Cities.

I might tell you how Barbarossa burnt Niça in Provence, and carried above forty thousand Captives out of the Kingdom of Naples, Pulia, and Calabria, taking only advantage of the sedition which then rained in Italy.

I might tell you that the Island of Rhodes was lost because the Christians were not able to succour the same, by reason of the Wars of Italy, and the Insurrection of the commonalty of Spain. I might tell you that the Kingdom of Hungary was lost by the like dissention. And briefly, that in late years the contentions betwixt the French Kings, and Charles the Fifth, and King Philip of Spain, have greatly hindered the progress, happy success, and fortunate accomplishment of such enterprises as were valiantly attempted, and might worthily have been executed against the aspiring pride of the insatiable Turk.

But to tell you all this, and the circumstances thereof, were somewhat too tedious: And I hasten unto other points; and I shall have occasion to handle that which is untouched, and not sufficiently declared in this point, in another place more aptly hereafter.

The second point whereat they wonder, is, that Princes hating Rebels as the Enemies of their estates, the Impugners of their authority, the Adversaries of their absolute power, and the Subverters of their Kingdoms, do in these dayes not only bear with Rebels, but also harbour them; not receive them alone, but also aide and assist them. So say they, the Queen of England maintaineth the Rebels of the United Provinces, commonly called the States of the United Provinces: So say they, the King of Spain supporteth, yea and helpeth with money, men, and munition, the Rebels of France, commonly called Leaguers: So say they, the Popes holiness animateth the Catholics of France and England to rebell against their Sovereigns.

An answer to an objection, that Princes aid Rebels, proving that in times past they did the like

Truly to nourish Rebels is an action in nature hateful, and in policy dangerous; for to aid the wicked, is to participate with them in their wickedness: and he that giveth countenance, comfort or succour unto his Neighbours domestical Enemies, is to look for the like measure, if his Subjects at any time, and upon any occasion, chance to rebel against him. But because many things in outward appearance seem good, which indeed are naught, and vitious; not only in this Age, but also in times past, are and have been baptized by the names of vertues: It is now, and it hath always been usual to deem all things honest that are profitable

ble, honourable that are expedient, and lawful that may be justified by examples. Is there any thing that maintaineth States, and upholdeth Kingdomes better then Justice? And yet lived there not a man, that inwardly professed, and openly said, *Si violandum est jus regnandi causa?* Is there any thing more odious or unbeseeming a Prince, then to say one thing and do another? And yet lived there not a Prince that wrote for his Posie, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit Regnare?* Is there any greater sign of an insatiable mind, and of ambitious covetousness, then having many Kingdomes to covet more Kingdomes? and yet lived there not a King, who having conquered most part of the world, wept, because he heard a Philosopher dispute of another world, which he had not as yet subdued? Is there any thing more cruel or barbarous, then an Emperor being bound by duty, and commanded by the Almighty to conserve and preserve his Subjects, to wish and intend the death of all his Subjects? And yet lived there not an Emperor who wished that all the people of *Rome* had but one head, that he might cut it off at one blow? And what moved these Princes, Kings, and Emperors to violate Justice? to dissemble with all men? to aspire and desire more Kingdomes? and to covet and imagine the death of their Subjects, but a colourable shew of honour, or of profit? The common Proverb saith, *give a man an Inch, and he will take an Ell*; and who desireth to be great, regardeth no Parentage, careth for no kindred, nor esteemeth any Lawes.

The ancient *Romans*, whose fame is notable through all the world, and whose Actions are imitated by most of the world, seemed outwardly to be just, and true dealers, never coveting more then their own, but alwayes contented (in common opinion) with their own; And yet in their inward thoughts they were never satisfied, till all that belonged to others became their own. They first conquered *Italy*, then *Spain*, next *France*, afterwards *Germany*, and after them *Scotland* and *England*; their desires and covetousness rested not there, but as men infected with the Dropsie (the more they drink, the more they desire to drink) so they, the more they had, the more they desired, and did spread the wings of their ambitious Avarice over all *Africa*, and *Asia*, making themselves of Lords of one Town, Monarchs of the universal world; In all which their conquests they carried an outward shew of manifest Equity, pretending for all and every the wars which they undertook, not one but many just causes, which they used to declare unto their friends and confederates, and not to conceal them from their very enemies, unto whom they sent usually an Herald of Arms, who should demand restitution of such things as they pretended to be unjustly taken from them, or reparation of their supposed wrongs: But if a man should now with the eyes of indifferency look upon the causes which moved them to undertake all, or most part of their wars, he should find that they were but colorable shews; for what cause had they to war with *Carthage*, but that they envied *Carthages* greatness? What moved them to subdue *England*, but because *England* holpe *France* in their wars against them? What pretence had they to conquer *Scotland*, but that *Scotland* succoured *England*? Why hindred they the *Swizzers* going into *France*, with intention to conquer *France*, but that they thought it a better morsel for themselves? What colour used they to overcome the residue of the world, but sometimes a pretence to defend their Confederates? sometimes a shew to maintain the liberties of their Neighbours? sometimes

sometimes a feigned and hypocritical zeal of Religion, when as indeed they oppressed them whom they pretended to defend: brought into bondage for whose liberty they would seem to fight: and were in all respects as irreligious as they whose Religion they seemed to condemn: So to be short, they cunningly enlarged their Confines, by seeming to be careless of Conquests; made themselves Monarchs, by pretending to suppress Tyrants; and did wrong unto all men, by bearing an outward shew to suffer no manner of injury to be done unto any man. This cunning in aspiring unto Forrain Dominions, begun in the Infancy of the Romans prosperity, continued in the riper years thereof, and practised even until their declining Age; was not only proper unto them, but passed (as their Empire did) from them unto other Rulers (by what name or title soever they were called) taking advantage of the time, omitted no means to attain unto their desires and purposes.

Though therefore the name of Rebels in all Ages hath been odious, their Cause was never unjust, and the voluntary Aid given unto them, never was honourable unto him that aided them; yet the Chronicles not only of our Nation, but also of other Regions, Realms, and Dominions, are full of Examples of many Princes not inferior to the Princes of our Age, be it in Might, in Power, in Authority, or in Goodness; who rather regarding the propagation and increase of their Dominions, then the conservation and maintenance of their Honours, did as our Princes do now, not only receive their Neighbors Rebels into their protection, but also use them as means and instruments to molest and persecute their Neighbours, by whose decay and downfall they might rise, and aspire unto higher Authority. Neither hath the League of Amity, the bond of Kindred and Parentage; the duty of children to their Parents; the affection of one Brother to another, moved Princes to withdraw their helping hand, succor and assistance from those who being tyed by all, or some of those Bands, rebelled against their Sovereigns. *James King of Scotland*, being not only in League with *Henry the seventh*, being King of *England*, but also by Oath and Homage bound unto him, as his Vassal, did not only favour and receive into his protection a young Man, named *Perkin*, who was suborned by *Margaret*, Dutches of *Burgundy*, to call and carry himself for one of the Sons of her Brother King *Edward*; but also married the said *Perkin* unto *Katherine*, Daughter unto *Alexander*, Earl of *Huntsley*, and his own neer Kins-woman; and with him, and for him invaded *England*: Here you see the Vassal favour and succor the Rebels of his Sovereign; and the neer Kins-woman conspire against her Leige Lord and King. *Richard Earl of Poitou*, because his Father *Henry the second* denyed him that Honour (although by the death of the young King *Henry*, he was become his eldest Son) to marry him with the French Kings Sister *Alice*, and to declare him immediately for his immediate Successor, became the French Kings Man to serve him against his Father. *Robert*, Son unto *William the Conqueror*, having tasted the sweetness in Commanding others, so far that he loathed to be commanded by others, Rebelled against his Father, and was aided and succoured in his Rebellion by the French King *Henry*, Son unto *Henry* surnamed the *Grosse*, because his Father was Excommunicated by the Pope; and as an Excommunicated person was, not in his opinion to hold and sway the Empire; was not only animated by the Pope to Rebel against his Father, but

but also assisted by him, until he took his Father Prisoner.

Here you see the Sons Rebelling against their own Fathers, protected and succoured by them, which either were, or should have been Friends and Confederates unto their Fathers.

Terapha
Holished.
Pol. Virg.
DuHaillan

Henry, base Brother unto *Peter* King of *Castile*, knowing that his Brother for his evil and licentious life, was generally hated of all his Subjects, Rebelled against him, and with the help of the Kings of *France* and *Portugal*, deprived him of his Life and Crown. Here you see the Brother bearing Arms against his Brother; ayded by two Kings, who should rather have favoured a Lawful King then an Usurper.

The Marquess of *Villona*, and the Archbishop of *Toledo*, both neer Kinsmen unto *Ferdinando* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Aragon*, and of *Castile*, Rebelled against them both, and received aid and succour in their Rebellion from *Alonso* King of *Portugal*. Here you see the Kinsmen Rebelling against their own blood, ayded by their Sovereigns Kinsman and Confederate. And seeing all this, how can you marvel, that in this Age (against the corruption whereof you and others inveigh most bitterly) Princes ayd the Rebels of other Kings, betwixt whom there is no manner of Alliance; Or if there be any, the same is long since dissolved, and resolved into hatred and enmity: For albeit the King of *Spain* Married the Sister of the Queen of *England*, and of the late French King; by which Marriages he was Allied unto both in League of Friendship and Affinity: Yet you know, and shall hereafter see, that many occasions besides the deaths of his Wives, have changed his love into hatred, and his good will into malice: So that it is no marvel, since every injury asketh a revenge; every enemy seeketh all means possible to hurt and annoy his Adversary; and every Prince can be content to take such advantage for the enlargement of his Confines, and for the maintenance of his Estate, as the time and opportunity doth or shall yeild him; If the *Spaniard*, who hath purposed in his heart to devour and swallow up the Kingdom of *France*, useth the Rebellion of the *Guyzards* for his best means and instruments; or if the Queen of *England*, who findeth no better ways to keep the *Spaniard* from invading and subduing her Realms and Dominions, then to busie and to find him continually occupied in defending, or in recovering his own, doth succour his pretended Subjects of the United Provinces (for indeed they are not his Subjects) and vouchsafeth daily to send them such supplies of Men and Money as seem most necessary for their defence.

The Third Point whereat they wonder, dependeth somewhat upon this Point, which is, Why the *Flemmings*, being always reputed a fearful and timorous Nation; And the Frenchmen having at all times most worthily carried the names of the most Faithful and Loyal Subjects of *Europe*; the one in hatred of the *Spaniard*, Rebellet against the *Spaniard*; and the other, at the Instigation of the Spanish King, beareth Arms in his behalf, against their natural Leige Lord and Sovereign: But if it may please you, and these Wonders, to enter into consideration of the *Spaniards* Nature, and of the *Flemmings* Qualities; and to call to mind the Levity of the one, and the Cruelty of the other; the Weakness of them, and the Pride of these; and how ready they are to take, and these to give occasion of Rebellion; you will leave to wonder at their revolt and distraction from the bondage of the *Spaniard*. Read the Chronicles of *Flanders*, and you shall

That the
Flemming
had just
cause to re-
bel against
the King
of Spain.

shall find that there was never any Nation more mutinous, more easie to be displeased, more prone and ready to Rebel, then the Flemmings. You shall likewise find, that they are far more fit to be Governed by Gentleness then by Rigor, and by Women then by men; You shall likewise find, that they have seldom lived in long Peace and Obedience under any of their natural Princes, if he did not Rule and Govern them with all manner of humanity: And finding this, you must needs think that there can be no long Agreement betwixt them and the Spaniard, whose nature is to Command Imperiously, to Rule Proudly, and to Govern Tyrannically, as it appeareth in all places where he beareth Sway or Government.

Anales
Flandriz.
Marchan-
tius.

The House of *Austria* had their beginning in *Hasburg* in *Switzerland*; whence (as you shall read in *Smiller*) they were driven by the Subjects for their extream Tyranny: By Marriage they are grown from poor Earls unto mighty Princes, and have spread themselves over divers Nations; over which how they have Tyrannized, the very Histories of those Nations do report and witness: You shall read of their persecutions in the *Indies*; Of their Exactions in the Kingdom of *Naples*; Of the Extortion in the Duchy of *Millan*; Of their Pride and Arrogancy in *Germany*; Of their hard and cruel dealing in the County of *Burgundy*; Of their late Cruelty in *Portugal*; and of their intolerable oppression in all places. You shall read that ever since they began to be in Authority in the world, they have troubled the Tranquility and Peace of most part of the world: You shall read, that *Italy*, *France* and *Germany*, have suffered more injuries, wrongs, and indignities by them only, then by all other Princes and Royal Families of Christendom. You shall read that *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Charles* the fifth, and this present King of *Spain*, disquieted and troubled the peaceable Estates of all other Princes that lived, or live in their time.

Smillerus
de Repub.
Helvetior.

Briefly, You shall read, that they have always had high minds, unsatiable desires, ambitious projects, marvelous designs and purposes; which if it had not pleased the Almighty to prevent and cross, by sundry unexpected Accidents, they had long before this time made themselves Monarchs of the universal world.

This is so apparent and well known unto all men that know never so little of the knowledge which is gathered from Histories; That I shall not need to stand upon the proof thereof, and to confirm the same by Examples.

No marvel then, since the Low-Countries did all at the first, with one mutual consent, Rebel; and the United Provinces do yet bear Arms against the Spaniard, defending themselves by power and might from his wrongs and violence, who gave them many just occasions to Revolt from his Obedience; Before they Revolted, he Ruled them by Strangers, being bound to Govern them by their own Country-men; He brake daily their Priviledges and Customes; being sworn duly to keep and observe them; He preferred meer Strangers, and men of base condition, unto the best and highest Offices over them, having protested and undertaken by Oath, to constitute no such Magistrates over them, as were not born in their own Country; He altered the State of the Clergy without their consent, having promised not to innovate any thing therein without their Counsel and permission; He caused to be done to death the best of

Dinothus
de bello
Belgico.
Reponce,
ala Decla-
ration de
D. Jehan
de Aufrice
Discourse
summarie
de Estates
Generals,
du Pays
Bas.

their Nobility, without any such form of Judgment as their Laws and Priviledges required; He charged them with new Imposts, and intolerable Tributes, without their advice and consent, whose counsel and consent he was to use therein: He called them to consult upon matters of weight and importance, in such places as they might not appear. Lastly, He placed such Governours over them, as sought and wrought the death of the best Maintainers and Upholders of their Ancient Priviledges; as filled the Country with odious and suspected People; as bandied and combined themselves with Forrainers against their States; as sought and took all occasions possible to sow Debate and Sedition betwixt their Nobles and Princes; as charged their Nobility with false and untrue Accusations; as declared the better part of them to be Traytors and Rebels, because they would not at their commandment make open Wars against the Prince of *Orange*, the only Patron and Pillar of their Liberties; as seized and took into their hands the frontire Towns and Forts; as builded Citadels to bridle, and Castles to bridle and keep them in awe: Briefly, as turned their Peace into War, their Wealth into Poverty, and their Rest and Tranquility into Tumults and Troubles: Can any Prince do greater wrongs unto his Subjects then these? Or can any Subjects suffer greater injuries then these? Especially such a Prince as was no longer Prince then he observed their ancient Priviledges; Especially such Subjects as were no longer bound to their Prince then he kept their Liberties inviolable; Such a Prince as lost his Authority over them so soon as he brake the Conditions whereupon he was received: And such Subjects who were freed from all manner of Obedience so soon as these Conditions were broken; Such a Prince as was requested by all the Princes of Christendom not to Tyrannize over his Subjects, and would not hearken to their perswasions and requests; And such Subjects as besought the Princes of Christendom to be their Intercessors to their Prince, and could not prevail with him: Briefly, Such a Prince as when he had long vexed and wearied his Subjects with intolerable charges, and unsupportable wrongs, might have had infinite wealth of his Subjects to receive them into his good Grace and Favour, and would not accept their offer; And such Subjects as offered to give their Prince three Millions of Gold, to suffer them to live in liberty of conscience, and could not be heard. These Subjects therefore had good occasion to forsake and renounce this Prince, And the Wars which they undertook against him were in my simple opinion most lawful; Not that I approve Rebellion, or allow Subjects to Rebel against their Sovereigns, when, or for what occasions they will; but that I disallow and dislike the Prince that will Govern and Rule his Subjects in all things as he lists; There is a mutual bond betwixt the Subject and the Prince; there is a reciprocal League, there is on both sides a certain duty, in the one to obey reverently, and in the other not to command over rigorously: The reverence of the Subjects conserveth the Majesty of a Prince; and the Lenity of a Prince maintaineth the life and welfare of his Subjects; but when the Prince casteth off humanity, and the Subjects forget their duty; when he mindeth nothing less then the publique wealth, and they suffer things whereunto they have not been accustomed; when he breaketh Laws, and they desire to live under their ancient Laws; when he imposeth new Tributes, and they think themselves sufficiently charged and grieved with their old; when he oppres-

Dinothus
D. Chy-
trazus;

eth and suppresseth such of the Nobility as favour the common people, their ancient Lawes, Priviledges, and Liberties, and they take the wrongs that are done unto their Favourers, and Patrons, to be done unto themselves and their Posterity: Then changeth love into hatred, and obedience into contempt; then hatred breedeth disdain, and disdain ingendereth disloyalty, after which follow secret conspiracies, unlawful assemblies, undutiful consultations, open mutinies, treacherous practises, and manifest rebellions: The chief reasons whereof are, because the common people are without reason, ready to follow evil counsel, easie to be displeased, prone to conceive dislike, not willing to remember the common benefit which they received by a Prince, when they see their private Estates impoverished by him or his Officers; forgetful of many good turns, if they be but once wronged; more desirous to revenge an injury, then to remember a benefit, quickly weary of a Prince, be he never so good, if he be not pleased to satisfie all their unreasonable demands; easily suspecting those who are placed in authority over them, commonly affecting time that is past, better then the present; briefly, all liking what the most like, all inclining where the greatest part favour-eth; all furthering what the most attempt, and all soon miscarried, if the most be once misled.

This natural disposition of the common people, is proved by common experience, observed by wise Politicians, and confirmed by many examples, not of one Realm, but of many Nations; not of one age, but of many seasons; not of barbarous people, but of civil Realms; not of Kingdoms alone, but of other manner of Governments; briefly, not of Subjects living only under Tyrants, but also under the best Princes that ever were; for there is no Kingdom comparable unto *France* for antiquity, or for greatness, for strength, or for continual race of good and vertuous Kings, for absolute government of Rulers, or for dutiful obedience of Subjects, for good laws, or for just and wise Magistrates; and yet *France* that hath this commendation, and these benefits, hath many other times besides this, and for other occasions besides the causes that now moveth *France* to rebel, revolted from her liege Lords and Sovereigns; for proof whereof, let us examine and consider the causes and motives of this present Rebellion, begun in the late Kings time, and continued in this Kings days. They that write thereof at large, and seem to understand the causes of this revolt more particularly then others, affirm that this Rebellion began upon these occasions. The Authors and chief Heads thereof saw Justice corruptly administred, Offices appertaining unto Justice, dearly sold, Benefices and Ecclesiastical dignities and livings unworthily collated, new Impositions dayly invented and levied, the Kings Treasures and Revenues prodigally consumed, old Officers unjustly displaced, and men of base quality unworthily advanced; they saw the late King carried away with vanities, governed by a woman, entred in League and Amity with their Enemies, and fully resolved to follow his pleasure, and to leave the administration and government of the whole Kingdom unto their mortal Enemies: They saw him careless in the maintenance of their Religion, unlikely to have any issue to succeed him, not willing to establish any succession of the Crown after him, and obstinately minded not to enter into League with them, that intended and purposed to uphold and maintain their Catholick Religion. Lastly, they saw that as long as he lived, the

That
France
hath rebel-
led against
their Kings
before this
time.

Pedro Corri
de la lyga q
confederacion
Francica.

The causes
of the Lea-
guers rebel-
lion, their
proceeding
& policies.

David
Chytrazus.
Rilember-
gius.

The State of Christendom.

King of *Navar* and his followers could hardly be suppressed; and that as soon as he dyed, the said King was likely to be his Successor; which happening, they considered the desperate estate of their Religion, the sure and certain advancement of the Protestants, and of their cause and quarrel, the utter subversion of all their intents and purposes; And lastly, the final and lamentable end of the greatness of themselves, and of their Families. Wherefore to withstand all those mischiefs and inconveniencies, and to prevent some of them, and to redress and reform others; they called a general Assembly of the three Estates; implored the help of foreign Princes; levied as great Armies as they could possibly gather together; propounded means of Reformation to the King; and when they found him not willing to yeild to their advise and counsel, they combined themselves against the Protestants, his pretended, and their open enemies; seized upon greatest part of the Kings Treasure, took possession of his best Holds and Towns of strength, removed such Officers as disliked them, and in all Affairs that concerned the advancement of their Cause, employed men fit for their humours, made for their purpose, brought up in their Factions, practised in their Quarrels, affectioned in their Cause, and wholly devoted to their wills and pleasures. And because they found themselves unable to encounter with the late King and his Confederates, unless they were also assisted by some forrain Princes, they sought all ways and means possible to insinuate themselves into the Grace and Favour of strange and mighty Potentates, to recommend their Cause and Quarrel unto their protection, and to joyn their Domestical power with their forrain Enemies: They consider therefore that the Popes Holiness by the heat and vehemency of the hatred which he beareth unto Protestants: The King of *Spain*, by the greatness of his Ambition; and the Duke of *Lorain*, by the ancient envy and enmity which hath been, and which is betwixt him and the House of *Bourbon*, might easily be perswaded and induced to favour their party, and further their Attempts and Enterprises.

The Duke
of *Guise*
the head of
the League;
his proceed-
ings and
policies.

The Duke of *Guise* as chief Head and Patron of these Actions, sendeth Messengers unto every one of these Princes, beseeching them, as they had heretofore secretly favoured him and his complices, so they would now (that matters were grown to ripeness, and secret Conspiracies to open resistance) vouchsafe him and his Confederates their help and assistance to the utmost of their power: In which Suit he findeth happy success; and with promise of assured and sufficient aid, is animated to proceed with courage, and not to omit any manner of cunning and policy, to win unto himself as many friends as he might possibly; He therefore considering, that for the better accomplishment of his designs, it was needful and expedient for him to continue at the Court, and there to draw unto himself as many partakers as by any means possibly he might obtain, repair-eth thither with all diligence; And knowing that he should undoubtedly fail of his purpose, unless he might effectually compass three things of special consequence; he labour-eth to the utmost of his power to bring them to pass: The first of the three was the late Kings especial Favour: The second an Office of great Account and Dignity: The third, that the rest of the Court should be at his Will and Commandment, either for love towards him, or for fear of his Greatness and Authority. For the purchasing and assurance of the Kings favour, he useth two principal means:

The

The one, to let the King understand that he was now grown to so great power and strength, that it was impossible for his Majesty to supplant or suppress the same. The other, to perswade the King, not only by words but also by good carriage of himself, that he would never abuse that his power, but always use it to his Highness benefit, and his Majesties service; keeping the King by this means always betwixt love and fear, and increasing the number of his friends and followers, by gratifying some with Offices, others with money, and still imploying his Purse, his Credit, and his Countenance, for the strengthening of his Party; and that in such manner as the King could not but perceive it: yet he dissembleth so cunningly, protesteth so devoutly, and sheweth sometimes so apparent effects of his good will, and dutiful obedience to the King, that his Majesty distrusteth not his proceedings: And for the better continuance of the King in that opinion; he marketh what is done in every Province, willeth many things to be done that were acceptable and pleasing to the Kings humours; and still writeth unto his Friends and Kinsmen, that they should shew their obedience in small things, and in matters of no great moment, that they might the better be trusted in matters of more great weight and profit, to the furtherance of his and their designs. Now for the obtaining of such an Office as might both countenance him, and prefer his Friends, he very subtilly insinuateth himself into the Queen Mothers favour, unto whom the King had committed the Administration and charge of the weightiest affairs of his Kingdom; he maketh the Kings principal Secretary sure unto him; causeth him to procure his return to the Court, when he was once commanded by the King to depart thence in disgrace; bringeth it to pass by him, that the Duke of *Espernon*, his greatest enemy, should be banished the Court, and that after his departure the same Secretary should continually seek and procure his discredit, and contrariwise further him in all his Attempts and Endeavours, lest that the King recalling in time the Duke *Despernon*, might be induced by him to displace and discountenance them both. And whilst he is in this favour, he sueth to be High Constable of *France*, meaning in time to use the same Office (as *Charls Martel* did) for a step and Ladder to climb up to the Kingdom; which Office he saith was of such antiquity and necessity, as that as soon as there was a King in *France*, there was also a High Constable; and that their Estate never flourished better, then when the Crown was provided of such Officers as should and did execute their Offices and Charges, in as ample manner as their Commissions gave them power and Authority to do. Besides, seeing that the Queen Mother, either at the first, or at the last, obtained whatsoever it pleased her, of the King; and that whosoever he was (were he never so highly in the Kings favour) that displeased her, in time lost the Kings good will, and good opinion: He so carried himself towards her, that he seemed to affect nothing more then her good liking, and yet not to be so desirous thereof, as that he would wholly depend thereupon; knowing that the King although he did always attribute much unto his Mother, and was contented that she should be revered and respected next unto himself, yet he could not well brook them that sought for her good will more then for his Favour; and thus with cunning, continuing a firm League of love and amity betwixt the Mother and the Son, he hoped in time to possess them both, in such manner, as before they should be aware thereof, he would assume unto

unto himself the power and authority of them both: And further, perceiving that the Kings old Secretaries were not in all respects so pliant and ready to follow and fulfil his designs as he wished, he laboured by all means possible to prefer them unto Offices of higher dignity, and to place others in their rooms, who would not fail to further his intents and purposes, nor disdain to depend wholly upon his favour, and also to make him privy to whatsoever business or affairs of Estate they were commanded to dispatch by the King; whereby he came to perfect knowledge of all that was purposed or determined by the Kings privy Council; And grew into such favour and credit, that even the principal Officers of the Crown, either for fear or for love, or by other mens examples, submitted themselves wholly unto his devotion: And he had such interest in the Kings Court and Courtiers, that all or the most part of them, seemed to be at his only disposition, and to affect him more then their King and Sovereign. Having installed himself in this manner in the Court, and distracted the hearts of the principal Officers thereof from their duty and love to their King; he thinketh it not sufficient to be invested in their favours, unless he might also captivate the affections and good wills of the common people; whom by promise to relieve their necessities, to ease their charges, to supply their wants, and to redress all that was thought or suggested to be amiss (the common means used in all times, and all ages, by men of his mind, to seduce and mis-lead a multitude) he easily and quickly perswadeth to favour his party; And finding the common sort so ready, willing, and desirous to perform and accomplish his pleasure, as that in respect of their obedience towards him, he seemeth to lack nothing but the only name of King to be a King: Notwithstanding the great Honor and Reverence that Courtiers shewed unto him; the love and affection that the Commonalty bear to him; the Offices and Dignities which he partly affected, and partly attained; the high Attempts and Imaginations which he lodged in his heart and conceit; and the unaccustomed Authority which he cunningly had usurped; yet he was so far from being puffed up with pride or disdain towards his inferiours (faults commonly incident unto men advanced unto extraordinary favour and preferment) that for the better continuance of his credit, and the peoples good will towards him; he would debase, and so much deject himself, as that he thought not scorn to go bare headed from one end of the Street unto another, even unto base Chrochelers and Porters; with which his demeanor the Duke *De Mayne* his Brother was many times highly displeased, and could not at any time frame himself to follow and imitate him therein; which hath appeared more manifestly since his death: the common people in regard of that want, not favouring him so highly as they did the late Duke of *Guisse*: Now where there is a Subject of such credit with the King, of such authority in Court, of such power in every Province, of such Alliance in the whole Realm, of such favour with forrain Princes, of such liking of all sorts of Subjects, of such experience in Martial Affairs, of knowledge in matters of State; briefly, of such continuance in the love, in the hearts, in the good liking of all men: Can it possibly be hard or difficult for him to work his pleasure in any thing that he shall imagine or indeavour? Or can it be that such a man should not be most dangerous unto his Country and unto his Prince? Especially in *France*, where there are many Provinces ruled by their particular Governours,

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many Citadels possessed by several Deputies, many Holds and Towns of strength committed to the custody of certain Lieutenants, many Bands of men at Arms, and of other Souldiers, under the charge of choise Captains. And all or the most part of these Governours, Deputies, Lieutenants and Captains, chosen or appointed out of his Parentage, Kindred, Affinity, Alliance, Family or Followers.

Look upon men in other States and Kingdoms, under other Princes and Kings, of like mind, and of such Ambition as possessed the Duke; and consider what dangers they have brought both unto their Countries, and unto their Sovereigns.

Look upon the means and policies which they have used to bring their purposes to pass; And see whether this Duke did not imitate, or rather go beyond them all in the course which he took to aspire unto Authority and Greatness.

Elus Sejanus ruled all things under *Tiberius* the Emperor; whom he had so cunningly blinded and besotted with love and affection towards him; that although he was wary enough of all others, and could keep his least secrets from them, yet he could not beware of him, nor conceal the greatest secrets he had from him. This *Sejanus* had many qualities fit and proper for his aspiring mind and purpose: He could endure all kind of labour; he durst adventure to do any thing whatsoever; he was very secret; he used to reprehend and backbite others boldly; he could flatter cunningly, behave himself, when occasion served, proudly; again, when he saw cause, his carriage was very modest outwardly, albeit inwardly he boiled with a desire of Rule and Government: For the better attaining whereof, he used now and then liberality, but more often labour and industry; points as dangerous (when they tend to the purchasing of a Kingdom) as Ambition and Prodigality. This *Sejan* had such interest in the Emperor, such power in *Rome*, such sway and authority in all the Affairs of the Empire; that after he had perswaded *Tiberius*, either for his health, or for recreation, or to live free from the cares and troubles of Estate, to retire himself unto a little Island, he presumed to call himself Emperor, and *Tiberius* a poor Islander, or Prince of one Island. This *Sejan* had two Obstacles to hinder his purpose, *Drusus* and *Nero*, both Heirs unto *Tiberius*, both of divers natures and conditions, and both so desirous to be Emperors, that the one could have been content to supplant the other. This *Sejan* to take away these impediments used these means, he polluted *Livia*, *Drusus* his Wife with Adultery, won her to promise him Marriage, promised to make her Partner and Fellow in the Empire, perswaded her to consent to the death of her Husband: To put her out of all doubt and jealousy; he banished his own Wife *Apicata* from his house and company; and when his secret purposes were bewrayed, thinking it time to hasten *Drusus* his death, and to work the same so cunningly that it might not be known or perceived; he cast a kind of poison, which should so kill him, that it might seem he dyed of some sudden disease: After this he assaulted *Nero* in another way; he caused his friends and followers to animate him to affect the Empire, to tell him that the people of *Rome* were desirous to make him Emperor, that the Souldiers were of the same mind, and that *Sejan* although he Ruled all things, yet he neither durst nor would withstand him. *Nero* gave ear to these perswasions, and could not so dissemble his inward thoughts and cogitations, but that now and then he uttered

The Duke of Guise his imitation of other great Rebels, and a Comparison betwixt him and them.

C. Tacitus

C. Tacitus.

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some words that bewrayed the secrets of his mind, which by such Keepers as were set to observe him, his words, and doings, were brought to *Sejan's* hearing, and by such Accusers as he suborned, carried to *Tiberius* his ears, who vouchsafing *Nero* no indifferent hearing, afforded him no good countenance, but suspected him the more, if he spake any thing in his own defence, and condemned him if he held his peace: And *Sejan* had so provided, that his watching his steps, his sights, and his secrets were told by his wife unto her Mother *Livia*, and by *Livia* unto him, who had likewise induced his Brother *Drusus* to seek this ruine and subversion of *Nero*, by telling him that when his Brother *Nero* was dead, he was next heir unto the Empire; which perswasion easily prevailed with *Drusus*, because he had an aspiring mind, and secretly hated his Brother *Nero*; for that their Sister *Agrippina* loved him better then she did *Drusus*: And yet *Sejan* did not so favour *Drusus*, but that he likewise purposed his death and destruction, which he thought he might easily compass, because he knew him to be stout, and over-bold, and easie to be overtaken by his sights and subtilties.

You have heard of the Treasons of *Sejan*, his policies, and his purposes, you may guess of his success, and read of his end. Now you shall hear of *Julius Caesar*, who was more subtle and cunning then he, and had the wit to get more then he, but not the grace to keep it long. *Caesar*, before he bare any Office in *Rome*, was in his youth so prodigal, and such a Spend-thrift, that he had indebted himself above 700000. Crowns; and although the greatness of his debts might justly have made him fear to be cast in Prison, and never to hope or look for such preferment, as he afterwards attained, yet he neither feared his creditors, nor doubted of his future advancement: For the better attaining whereunto, he accommodated his nature to all mens humours, and vouchsafed to flatter, and make much, not only of Free-men, but also of such Slaves and Bond-men as he knew well able to do any thing with their Masters; He thought it no disgrace or discredit to humble himself in the beginning, so that he might live in assured hope to command all men in process of time.

Besides other subtle devices which he used for the better accomplishment of his desires, he observed most diligently who were in greatest favour with the common people, who were best able to further or hinder his purposes; who were easily to be won to favour him in his attempts and intentions; and what means he might use and practise to be assured of their Friendship.

There lived in his time four men of especial account, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, *Piso*, and *Curio*: *Pompey* was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that he was worthily surnamed the GREAT. *Crassus* attained to such wealth, that he was commonly called the RICH. *Piso* bare such sway with the people, that no man was either feared or loved more then he. And *Curio* was so wise, and so eloquent, that the people loved him greatly, and he so desirous of their favour, and so careless and prodigal of money, that to attain any thing for himself, or for his friend, he would spare no manner of costs or charges. To win these men that were fit for his purpose, and yet of divers humours, *Caesar* thought it convenient to use divers means; he married his daughter to *Pompey*, he took to wife *Piso's* Sister; he paid all *Curio's* debts; and because there was a competency and emulation betwixt *Pompey* and *Crassus*, by reason whereof he thought

Plutarch.

Dion.

Piero
Mexias.

thought it very difficult to grow in favour with both of them; he being absent from *Rome* when they were in the heat of their contention, came thither of purpose, not to extinguish the same, but to use it as a means to deceive them both; and seeing that each of them sought his friendship against the other, he would not follow any of them, but carrying himself as neutral and indifferent betwixt them, he procured all wayes possible to make them friends. And knowing that so long as he declared not himself to be a faithful friend to one of them, both would do for him, whatsoever he should demand of them; he held them both in suspence, and made them so jealous of him, that for fear to lose him, both laboured to content and please him; and so much, that first he made himself equal to either of them; next he brought to pass, that the power and authority which was in their hands only, was divided betwixt him and them: And in the end he alone came to rule all; for he drave *Pompey* out of *Rome*; and out of *Italy*, and made himself Lord and Master of both places, opened the Roman Treasure, and paid his Souldiers therewithal. What followed, the Histories reporteth; and I haste unto another of the like mind, but of better fortune; for *Cesar* lived not long after he came to the Empire: And many wise and learned men wonder why the Emperours at this day carry still his name, since he was the only ruine and overthrow of his Countrey, and of the ancient liberty thereof; whereas he, of whom I intend to speak, not only enjoyed the Crown and Scepter many years together, which he usurped cunningly, but also transferred the same unto his posterity, in which it hath remained better then these five hundred years, and *Cesar* his posterity enjoyed not his purchase the twentieth part of that time. You have heard that the last Race of the Kings of *France* descended from *Hugh Capet*, who being but Master of the Kings Palace, governed all things under him, and so carried himself in that his Government, that he wan the hearts and love of the common people; and also got into such favour with *Lewis* the Fifth of *France*, a Prince of small worth, and of no great wit, that as some Historographers write, he dying the year 987. without Heirs Males, not of his natural death, but by poyson, gave his Kingdom unto *Blanch* his Wife, and willed her to marry *Hugh Capet*, which she did according to her Husbands Commandment, and so *Capet* became King, albeit the Kingdom appertained by right unto *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, Brother unto King *Lotharius*, and Uncle unto the said *Lewis*. For *Charles* being then in *Lorraine*, and having been called and sent for by some of the Nobles of *France* to be crowned King thereof, came not with such speed as was convenient for him to have used, but gave time and respite unto *Capet* to seize upon the Kingdom, pretending himself to have Title thereunto, by the late Kings will, by reason that he was in some sort by his Mothers side of the race of *Charlemaign*, by signifying unto the people, that *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* deserved not to be chosen King, because in all contentions, debates, and differences betwixt the Crown of *France* and the Empire, the said *Charles* favoured the Emperours more then the French King; and by suggesting that he being present and alwayes ready to defend the Realm, ought to be preferred before *Charles* that was absent, and not willing to come to accept the Crown, when he was called thereunto; by inducing *Anselm* Bishop of *Laon* to deliver the said Duke his Master with his two Children into his hands very trayterously; by committing the Duke and

his Sons to prison in *Orleanse*, where they dyed, and by degrading *Arnolph* Arch-bishop of *Rhemes* under colour and pretence of Bastardy, for fear he proving himself to be lawful and legitimate brother unto *Charles*, might in time deprive him of the Kingdom; but the especial policy that *Capet* used for the obtaining his purpose, was the imitation of *Pipin* of *France*, of whose practises you shall first hear; and then as *Plutarch* in the lives of the Worthies of *Greece* and *Rome*, compared a Græcian and a Roman together, that the vertues and excellencies of both may appear the better by that his comparison: So I will compare the devices of the late Duke of *Guise* with the practises of *Sejan*, *Cæsar*, *Capet*, and *Pipin*, to the end you may see in what points he imitated them fully, and also wherein he failed to follow their foot-steps. *Pipin* being Master of the Palace under *Childerick* the third King of *France*, (who for his unworthiness was deprived of his Crown by the Pope *Lachary*) thought that the greatness of his Office, and the weakness of his Prince and Master, might well serve him for a Ladder to climb to the Kingdom, and knowing that it would not suffice to advance his own credit and commendation, unless he did also dispraise and discredit his King, he suborned men of purpose, not only to spread abroad the Kings indignities, to inveigh against his insufficiencies, and to cry out against his evil Government; but also to set forth his own praise, to commend his valour, and to extoll his exploits and services, done as well for his Country, as for the See of *Rome*; to the end that as soon as the people began to contemn and dislike their King, they might also begin to love and affect him, of which affection and love he hoped there might in time proceed such a good liking, that they would vouchsafe to elect and chuse him for their King; and because he knew that the French-men were well affected to the Pope, and would do any thing at his Commandment; to win the Popes favour and assistance, he not only promised, but went into *Italy*, of purpose to succour his Holiness against the *Lombards*, who at that time greatly troubled the universal rest and quiet of *Italy*, Besides fearing that the Oath which the French-men make unto their King, and the Love and Loyalty which they bear unto him, might hinder his designs and purposes, he sent an expresse Messenger unto the Pope, to declare unto him the true sense and meaning of their Oath, and to intreat his Holiness to make such an Interpretation thereof as might serve his turn; the effect of which Interpretation was, That since the promise which the French-men made unto their King was conditional and reciprocal; and that their King was likewise sworn unto them; they being his Subjects were not bound any longer to their Oath, since he being their King had broken his, because he was neither religious valiant, just, or in any respect answerable to those conditions which were inserted and included in his promise to them. In hope of performance of which conditions they had sworn unto him all manner of duty, service, succour, faith, and obedience. This was *Pipin's* policy to supplant *Childerick*, and to set the Crown of *France* upon his own head.

Now let me compare the Duke of *Guise* his practises with these mens devices, his wit with their wisdom, and his aspiring mind with their ambition. *Sejan* and *Cæsar* were lowly and humble when they saw occasion, and what was the Duke of *Guise* when he went bare-headed unto Porters and Crochellers? *Cæsar* drove *Pompey* out of *Italy*, and *Sejan*, *Tiberius* out of *Rome* into an Island, and what did the Duke of *Guise* when he forced

Du Haillan

A strange Interpretation of the Oath of Allegiance.

A comparison betwixt the Duke of Guise, and Sejan, Cæsar, Pipin, and Hugh Capet.

forced the late French King, not to leave, but to fly from *Paris*. *Cesar* suppresseth *Pompey* and *Crassus*; and *Sejan* indeavoured to destroy *Drusus* and *Nero*; and what did the Duke of *Guise*, when he caused the Admiral of *France* to be massacred, and the Duke of *Espermon* to be banished the Court? *Sejan* and *Cesar* spared no money to win men to their service and devotion: What did the Duke of *Guise*, when he spent all his own Patrimony, and his Wives Inheritance, and the King of *Spain*s yearly Pension, and infinite Pistolets, to purchase himself Friends and Favourers? *Cesar* and *Sejan* subverted their enemies by their own friends; And what did the Duke of *Guise* when he sowed sedition betwixt the King and his brother? *Cesar* and *Sejan* used the Marriage of *Livia*, *Drusus* his Wife of his own Daughter, and of *Pycos* Sister for the furtherance of their purpose: And what did the Duke of *Guise*, when he caused the Massacre of *Paris* to be performed at the Marriage of the present King of *France* with the late Kings Sister? *Cesar* and *Sejan* could be proud when occasion was offered? And what was the Duke of *Guise* when he equalled his power and strength with the Kings? *Cesar* could brook no equal; And what could the Duke of *Guise*, when he contended with the Kings Brother for Superiority and Precedency? *Sejan* set variance betwixt *Drusus* and *Nero*, to the end the one should take occasion to destroy the other? And what did the Duke of *Guise*, when he perswaded the French King to send his only Brother into *Flanders*, where he devised divers means to endanger his life? *Cesar* assumed by cunning and policy, all the Power and Authority unto himself, which was sometimes equally divided betwixt him, *Pompey* and *Crassus*? And what did the Duke of *Guise*, when he suffered no man to be in credit at the Court but himself? *Sejan* offered the Empire unto *Drusus*, not for favour which he bore him, but to incense and incourage him to seek the ruine of *Nero*: And what did the Duke of *Guise*, when he profered the Kingdom in the late Kings days, unto the King of *Navar*, now King of *France*, but seek means to breed such a distrust and jealousy betwixt the King and him, that the one might let no occasion slip that might procure the destruction or overthrow of the other? *Cesar* observed diligently the natures and dispositions of such men as were in special credit with the common people, and to purchase their favour furthered their purposes, when they tended not to his own hinderance: And what did the Duke of *Guise* when he fawned upon those whom the King loved, and labored to prefer his Secretaries to higher places, to the end that both they and their Successors might be always willing and ready to pleasure him? *Pipin* shewed himself wise in using the Kings weakness, and his own credit for a Ladder to climb to the Kingdom; And the Duke of *Guise* came not much behind him in wisdom, when he weakened the late Kings forces, and strengthened himself and his complices, with intention to set the Crown of *France* upon his own Head. *Hugh Capet* pretended right to the Crown, because he was in some sort ally'd to *Lewis* the fifth, by his Mothers side: And the Duke of *Guise* fortified his Right, by pretending Alliance unto the Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Hugh Capet* deprived of the Crown. *Pipin* hired men to commend himself and dispraise *Childerick*: And the Duke of *Guise* wanted not his writers and his flatterers, who in Books and common Table-talk, did daily set forth his praise, and took hold of every small occasion, to inveigh bitterly against the King, *Pipin* again used Religion and Zeal for a means to win the Popes favour;

and to procure him to make a friendly Interpretation of the French Subjects Oath to their King: And the Duke of *Guise* with a shew of suppressing the Protestants of *France*, drew divers Popes to join with him in alliance, and to draw other Princes with the same line into the same League, and left not until the Pope had Excommunicated the late King. *Hugh Capet* disabled *Childerick* as a man not sufficient to Rule, and therefore caused him to be shut up in a Monastery; And the Duke of *Guise* was so bold as to bring forrain power into *France*, and to tell the King that he had procured their help to suppress the Protestants, because his Majesty had neither men nor money enough wherewith to overthrow them; and common fame greatly wrongeth him, if he intended not in time to have shut the King up in some religious house, and to have put a Friers Weed upon him. Briefly, *Pipin*, *Fulius Caesar*, and *Hugh Capet*, attained their desires by their cunning practises, and their subtile devises; And the Duke of *Guise* by his slights and Stratagems had not failed of his purpose, if the King had not by doing him suddenly to death prevented his intended Usurpation.

By this that hath been said, you may plainly perceive that the Frenchmen rebelled against their Sovereigns long before this time; And that they are in a manifest Error who commend their Loyalty so much, as in their Writings to call them *The most Loyal, Loving, and Dutiful Subjects of Europe*; For to omit other Rebellions of the children against their own Fathers in *France*, whereof their Histories are full and plentiful: It cannot be denied that both *Pipin* and *Hugh Capet* were Usurpers; and that as many as favoured and furthered them against the lawful Heirs of the Crown, were notable and traitorous Rebels, and in no respect inferiour to those who in these days combine themselves against the late French King, and still continue their open Revolt, and unlawful disobedience against his right Heir and lawful Successor: Neither can any man deny, that all they that took part with *Lewis*, surnamed the *Meek*, against *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, were also most famous and disloyal Traytors; For *Lewis* being younger Brother unto *Pipin* (who dyed before his Father *Charlemain*, and left *Bernard* King of *Italy* his sole Heir) had no right to the Crown of *France*, so long as the said *Bernard* his eldest Brothers Son lived, for that as well in the Succession of Crowns and Kingdoms, as of private mens Lands and Inheritances; the eldest Brothers Son and Heir is always to be preferred before his Uncle.

And for as much as *Lewis* having taken his Nephew *Bernard* in the field Prisoner, did not only detain him, and his chief Councillors in hard Prison, but also in the end put him to an unlawful and unnatural death. Those Subjects who followed and assisted him in those his unkind and unjust actions (because it is a most wicked deed to participate with the wicked in their wickedness) must needs be accounted as wicked as the present Subjects of *France*, who consented unto the cruel Massacre of their late King: Again, all those French Subjects who bore Arms against *Edward* the Third, in the behalf of *Philip de Valois* were in as high degree of Rebellion, as these latter Rebels: And so likewise were those who stood with *Charles* the seventh against *Henry* the fifth and sixth of *England*. For the only reason and cause which they alledged to debar these English Kings from the Succession, as lawful Heirs to the Crown of *France*, was the Law Salique, (which as they then pretended) excluded not only women, but also other Heirs males descending from the woman, from the Inhe-

Inheritance of the Crown; Which Law was no sufficient bar, because it was undoubtedly a local Law, made in *Salem*, a Town about the River of *Rhine* in *Germany*; at what time the French Kings were both Kings of *France*, and Emperours of *Germany*; and therefore as all other local Laws are, was tyed to the Inheritance of that Town only, and could not stretch her Forces to forrain Countries, or to the succession of Kingdoms, no more then the Law of *Gavelkind*, being peculiar, not to all, but to some part of *Kent*, is of full strength and full force in other places of *England*: Besides, it is confirmed that there was never any such Law in *France* by the Testimony of the Duke of *Burgundy*; who when as *Philip*, surnamed the *Long*, was created King, never left to cry out against his Creation, and to profess openly, That the Kingdom belonged of right unto *Joan*, Daughter unto *Hutine*, sometimes King of *France*, before that *Philip* stoppen his mouth with the gift of the Country of *Burgundy*, in Dower with his eldest Daughter. I could stand longer upon the proof that there was never any *Salick* Law in *France*, were it not that *Du Haillan* a French Chronicler, in the first Volumn of his History, easeth me of that pain, and cleareth that point so plainly, that he being a Frenchman, and refusing a Law, suggested not only to be a Law, but also one of the chief Pillars and Maintainers of the ancient Dignity of the Crown of *France*, cannot be thought to write thereof either partially or untruly: But although I let pass *Ed. 3.* his Title, as the less valuable, because it was impugned and weakned by the only Allegation of that Law; yet I must enlarge somewhat more *Henry* the fifth his Right, because the same (in my simple conceit and opinion) was far stronger then *Edward* the Thirds; For *Henry* the fifth considering that because his Predecessors did always from the time of *Edward* the third, lay continual claim unto the Crown of *France*; and that therefore the Kings, or rather Usurpers thereof had no right nor just title thereunto, because they not having *bonam fidem* (a point requisite in Prescription) by reason that they knew the right to be in Kings of *England* rather then in themselves, could not lawfully prescribe a right unto the said Crown, demanded the same by force of Arms of *Charles* the sixth, and drave him to such extremities, that he being able no longer to make resistance against his invincible Forces, was glad to capitulate and agree upon conditions of Peace with him: The principal Articles of which Peace were; That the said *Charles* the sixth should during his life, continue King; That he should dis-inherit his Son and Heir, who was afterwards *Charles* the seventh; That the King of *England* should take to Wife *Isabel*, Daughter unto the French King; and in regard of that Marriage he proclaimed Regent of that Kingdom during *Charles* his Father in laws life, because he was sometimes Lunatique, and Heir apparent to the Crown after his death; And lastly, that the Nobility and Peers of *France*, should not only consent thereunto, but also take a solemn Oath (which was accordingly performed and executed) to maintain every point of those Articles, and uphold and assist *Henry* the fifth, and his lawful Heirs and Successors, against *Charles*, Son unto the French King, the rather because his Father had for very good and just occasions him moving thereunto, dis-inherited the said *Charles*, and by the last Will and Testament, made when he was in perfect sence and memory, ordained and constituted the said *Henry*, his sole and lawful Heir of the Crown. But the Frenchmen have their Objections to all that

Du Haillan
Holinshed.

Du Haillan
denieth the
Law *Sal-*
lique.

is said; the which I cannot lightly pass over, because I know you are desirous to hear their Exceptions, and also what may be replied in Answer to their Allegations; But I may not dwell long upon every particular Point, because my leisure will not serve me, and it is not pertinent to my first purpose.

The Frenchmens first Objection, and the answer thereunto. Hottonnus de jure successioneis

They say first, *That their Kingdom goeth not by Dissent and Inheritance, from the Father to the Son, but by succession, which is grounded not upon Law, but upon a Custom; by virtue whereof, the next of the Blood Royal, be he of the farthest degree that may be of Kindred, succeedeth not as a lawful Heir, but as a Successor by Custom, not newly invented, but of long continuance, even from the time of the first King Pharamond.*

Which Objection I mean briefly to Answer, before I will proceed to any others. Guicciardine, who wrote an Universal History of all things that hapned in his time, not only in Italy, but also in all other places of Europe (although he was a very perfect and learned Lawyer) yet when he had occasion to touch any Point of Law, he handled not the same Lawyer-like, but passed it over lightly, setting down his opinion of the Case, in as few words as he could possibly, because if he had done otherwise, he knew that he should not observe the Laws and Bounds whereunto Historiographers are tyed and bound. In like manner although these Questions are meerly civil, and ought to be handled by me as a Civilian; yet because I purpose to write you an historical discourse, I will touch them lightly; for that I speak of them *obiter*, and by digression, and I hold it sufficient to refute the Objections that may be made in this Cause; not by Law, but by the Histories of France.

For albeit John Bodine, a Frenchman, and notably well seen and read in Histories, discoursing in his Book *de Methodo Historie*, at large, what Rules are to be observed in judging a right of an Historiographer, and what credit may be given to an History, setteth it down in an opinion not controllable, That in matters touching France or England, you ought not to credit a French or English History; but rather a stranger writing thereof, with more indifferency and less partiality; yet, as in Causes which cannot be well decided, or perfectly known but by Domestical witnesses, their Testimony is to be preferred before all others; So in matters of State, which cannot be so well known unto Forrainers, as unto men born and bred within the same State, better credit ought to be given unto these, then unto them: You shall therefore hear this first Objection refuted by their own Writers, and especially by Du Hailan, who in my opinion is the best Historiographer that writeth of France, who refuteth this Objection, by reckoning up a bed-roll of Kings who did not succeed one another, but were chosen one after another; Pharamond (saith he, in his third Book) was the first chosen King of France; After whom Daniel, surnamed Childerick, was chosen: Pipin likewise was chosen, and after him Charles and Charlemain his Sons: And the Frenchmen despising the Youth of Charles, King Lewis his Son, who was betwixt nine and ten years of age, chose Odon, Son to Robert the Saxon, for their King; And afterwards being discontented with his Government, they deprived him of his Kingdom, and set up Charles in his place; who governing them somewhat loosely, was likewise deposed and cast into Prison; and in his place Basoul, King of Burgundy was instituted and created King of France; and there remaineth even at this day a certain form of Election which is made

at the consecrating and crowning of the King at *Beihins*, where the Peer of *France*, in the name of the Clergy, Nobility, and People, chuse the King that is present: Here you see an Election begun in *Pharamond*, continued in others, and observed at this day; and yet as many as have been Kings since *Hugh Capet's* time, have succeeded to their Kingdoms, and claimed the same by Inheritance, rather then by custom; and you shall see when we come to another of their Objections, that neither this Election, nor this Custom in succession hath been always duly kept and observed.

The second Objection against this agreement is, *That although Contracts do bind Princes as well as Subjects, yet such Contracts as are made by men not being sufficient and able to celebrate Contracts; as men distracted of their wits, Lunatiques, and others not being in perfect sense and memory, do not bind the Contrabents, but are held in Law as matters of no weight, force, or validity; and therefore Charles the Sixth who concluded his Peace with the above-mentioned conditions, being both before and after the celebration of the same notoriously reputed and known to be a Lunatique, this Contract did neither bind him nor his Successors.*

The second Objection, with the answer.

To this it is easily answered, That Contracts made by men disabled by Law to enter into any such compositions, are of force by two wayes; The one if they with due and requisite solemnities be done by such as by Law are deputed to have the Government of their goods and persons during the time of their weakness and imbecillity: The other, if they themselves having *delucida intervalla*, being (as Lunatiques many times are) in perfect sense and memory to celebrate any manner of Contract, the same is of full force and strength; and therefore *Charles* the sixth being (as their own Histories report) at the time when this Agreement was made, in his right wits and memory: This contract wanted not the force and vertue which Law requireth, especially since the chief Nobility of the Realm were then not only present, but consenting thereunto, and sworn to the performance thereof.

The third Objection is, *That the Kings of France cannot alienate the Demesns, Rights, Titles, and Interests of the Crown without the privacy and consent of the three Estates, which consent could not possibly be had at this Agreement, because a great part of the Peers, Nobles, and others were then absent, and bore Armes with the young Prince Charles, or at the leastwise followed him against the King his Father.*

The third Objection and answer.

Guido Papnis quest. 23. 9. Hostiensis extr. de major. et obedientia. c. dilecti filii. Alexander Cent. 25. n. 20. vel 5. Baldus in tit. Si defendo fuerit contra int. Dom. in generali n. v.

To this I briefly answer, That in matters which go by plurality of voices, it is not always necessary that all be present, but that the greater or better part of them that will and do vouchsafe their presence thereat yield their consents thereunto, especially when the others who are absent have been cited and warned to be present, and they either willingly or contemptuously will not appear. For albeit the thing that concerneth all men, must be approved of all men, yet when some or all may approve or disallow the things which concerneth them, and they will not be present to shew their consent or dislike, their absence shall not prejudice the Contract that is celebrated, and there is no wrong offered unto them by proceeding in their absence, *quia volenti non fit injuria*. In this case therefore those that were away, being either voluntarily absent, or traiterously minded to their King (which appeared in that they followed his Son against him, and animated and assisted him in his disobedience and rebellion

rebellion against his Father) could not in any respect prejudice the force and validity of this contract; for if they were absent of purpose, then there was no injury done unto them; and if they were Traytors (as undoubtedly they are, who either bear Armes against their Prince, or assist his Enemies with their counsels) then they had lost the right of their consent and voice; And so consequently the Contract which was celebrated by the more and better part, or by all the Nobility, and of the three Estates that were present, and true and Loyal Subjects unto their King, notwithstanding the others voluntary malicious absence, was by Law warrantable, especially being confirmed and fortified by the Oath of the King, and his Council and Nobility.

4
6
The fourth
Objection
and An-
swer.

The fourth Objection against this Agreement is, *That when it was concluded, the King of England had almost Conquered all France, was there with his power and strength about him, and shut up the French King as it were in Prison, and utterly disabled him to make any resistance against his invincible Army, and conquering Forces; And therefore whatsoever he did, being done by fear and compulsion, was of no better force then a Contract extorted by violence, or made in Prison by a private man, which when he is set at liberty, he is not bound by Law to perform except he list.*

To this Point I likewise Answer briefly; That the Law that provideth for the remedy of such as by Imprisonment, or by violence and just fear, and such as the Law saith, *cadet in sortem virum*, have yeilded to any inconveniency, extendeth not (in my simple conceit) her force unto the Contracts of Princes, which are celebrated and concluded after long Wars betwixt them; For if Conquerors might not impose what conditions of Peace they please upon the conquered, there would never be any end of Wars; And as private men being in troubles may even in cases which admit no giving or taking on any side (as for Ecclesiastical livings betwixt Ecclesiastical persons) redeem their troubles by giving or taking whatsoever shall be agreed upon, and with the best conditions they may; so in Wars, Princes who have lost the field, and so weakened their Forces, that they are able to make no longer resistance, may lawfully alienate the more part of the Revenues of their Crown, to purchase their liberty, and their Subjects quiet; who (if their Princes might not capitulate with his and their Adversary, in such manner as the Conqueror shall demand) should be deprived of their lives, liberties and Livings; of all which three, every King is sworn to have a special care and regard, and to seek all means possible to preserve them all: And in consideration hereof, it is usual amongst Princes rather to lye in durance a long time, then to yeild to the unreasonable demands of their enemies, whilst they are in the heat of their choller and indignation; because when their wrath is somewhat asswaged, and either time or intercession of other Princes (who commonly in such cases interpose their helping hands, and be Mediators of Peace) mitigated and moderated their anger, they are willing to yeild to reasonable conditions. For confirmation hereof, I could alleadg many examples, but I will deal with a Frenchman at his own weapon: *Guicciardine*, in his before mentioned History, discoursing at large of the hard measure that was offered unto *Francis* the first, King of *France*, after he was taken Prisoner at *Pavia*, in *Italy*, by the Army of the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, saith, That there were never but two Kings of *France* taken prisoners in the field, (to wit) King *John*, and the said *Francis*

is; King *John* was so kindly used in *England*, (where he lay above 2 years prisoner) that after he was delivered thence, he would needs go thither again to see his good Host, for so he termed the King of *England*, whereas *Francis* the first, albeit he greatly desired to be transported out of *Italy* into *Spain*, being in great hope and confidence that the Emperor (who had seen the change and variety of time, and also the inconstancy of fortune) would have some Princely compassion upon him, found all things contrary to his conceived hope and expectation; for he was committed to hard prison, kept with a continual and strong guard; not attended upon as a Prince of his might and greatness ought to have been, hardly suffered to speak with his Sister, who was sent out of *France* on purpose to comfort him, and never brought unto the Emperours sight and presence, until that through grief and melancholy he fell into so dangerous a sickness as made the Physicians almost despair of his recovery; the Emperour not for love (as *Guicciardine* affirmeth) but for fear to lose by his death all that he hoped to get for his Ransome, went to visit and comfort him. The reason of this hard usage was, to inforce him by long durance, and want of liberty, to redeem his troubles upon hard conditions; And although he had oftentimes answered the Emperour, that he had rather dye in Prison then yeild to his unreasonable demands, which could not be well performed without the great prejudice, yea almost the utter subversion of his Kingdom; and had accordingly written unto his Nobility and Council in *France*, that they should make no more account of his life or liberty, because the demands of his Ransome were too too unreasonable, yet he was forced at length to subscribe and consent unto such hard conditions and Articles, as were agreed upon by *Charles* the fifth, and his Council; Which indeed were so hard, that although his Sons lay in *Spain*, as Hostages for their performance; yet after he was delivered, he would not see them accomplished, but fell a fresh to Wars with the Emperour; and in the end, by the intercession of other Princes, made a more reasonable end. But King *John* (as both the French Chronicles and ours do report) was set at liberty with more equal conditions, and yet the same were not performed; And the Frenchmen in all Treaties of peace with us, have either gone so far beyond us with their wits, that they have oftentimes greatly deceived us, or have so fraudulently violated all, or the more part of the Articles of their Agreement, that our victories being many against them, never yeilded unto us any great commodity or advantage. The consideration whereof moved one of their Writers to say, that we never won any thing of them by the dint of Sword; but they recovered the same again by the sharpness of their wits. And another Historian of theirs mocketh us in his writings, and saith, That when we come to treat with them of Peace, we sit down proudly, and with great words extolling our exploits, valour, and good success against them; in the beginning of our parts we do demand no less then the whole Kingdom of *France*, but in the end of them, we fall from Mountains unto Molehills.

John Bodin.

Philip de Comines.

Now sithence we by their own confession have been so courteous and reasonable, that we have yeilded them far better favour, and better conditions of peace then they hoped for, and they contrarywise have dealt so craftily, and so deceitfully with us, both in the time of King *John*, and others, before the Reign of *Charles* the Sixth, that we cannot be blamed for dealing more hardly with them in the said contract, and for using the surest way we could devise for our security and assurance of that

that which was promised unto us. And certainly as the Treaties and Conclusions of peace made with King *John*, and King *Francis*, were in the opinion of the best and learnedst Lawyers of *Europe* held lawful, although they were not in all points performed; so the Contract made betwixt *Charles* the Sixth, and his Son-in Law *Henry* fifth of *England*, was undoubtedly agreeable to Law and Equity; for otherwise Princes should be in worse condition then Subjects, who are bound to perform every point of a reasonable contract or agreement which they make. But it was hard to demand and take a whole Kingdom. True if conquests were not lawful, we should have dealt so favourably with *Charles* the Sixth, as our Predecessor did with King *John*; it might be we would have done so, if King *John* and his Successors had not before oftentimes deceived us. Princes do not usually take advantage of their enemies when they have the upper hand over them, with all utmost extremities. But if they do, what remedy is there? or who can gainsay the Conqueror? Courtesie is commendable in all men, and especially in Princes, who are to extend the same at all times, when it is demanded in good manner, and by men worthy of mercy and compassion. And such was the lamentable estate of *Charles* the Sixth, who had at once many miseries heaped upon him by the heavy wrath of God, as namely, wars within his Realm, rebellion of his own Son against him, revolt of his Subjects, and distraction of his wits; and so it was extream cruelty to adde affliction to the afflicted. Indeed mercy is to be extended to persons worthy of commiseration, and Lunatiques are by all men to be pitied: and in regard hereof, the King of *England*, whereas he might have destroyed the whole Realm of *France*, burned the Cities, wasted the Countries, led away the people in captivity, taken their goods to his own use, bestowed the Nobilities and Gentlemens Lands upon his own Subjects, altered the Lawes of the Countrey, changed the Government thereof, deprived the most part of them of their lives, and seated his own Subjects in their possessions; he suffered them to live at liberty, to enjoy their ancient possessions, to maintain and use their own priviledges, to dwell in their wonted habitations, and to continue in all respects as free as they were before they were conquered. And whereas he might have made the King prisoner, carryed him with him into *England*, and to have placed another to govern for him, especially he being not in case to rule and govern by himself: He was so far from so doing, that he suffered him to enjoy the Kingdom whilst he lived, and by taking his Daughter to wife, transferred not only the French, but also the English Crown unto the issue of her body, a thing to be greatly desired of that Father, whose Son by reason of his disobedience deserved not to succeed him; a thing practised by all men that have had the like children, a thing far beyond the custom of Frenchmen themselves, who in the like cases have not used the like clemency and moderation. For over what Enemies had the French-men ever the upper hand, whom they used not most cruelly? What barbarous cruelty exercised they in *Italy*, and especially at *Naples*, where their Tyranny in Government, their extremity in polling, their insolency in mis-using the common people was such, that in one night they were all slain; and in hatred of them and their posterity, the wombs of all Neapolitan women that were suspected to be with child by French-men, were ripped up, and the children pluckt out, and likewise murdered with their Mothers

Guicciardine
Gioviano Pontano
tavo della
guerra di
Napoli.

DuHaillan.

thers. What cruelty purposed they to have practised in *England*, at what time *Lewis* the Dolphin of *France* was called into *England* by the Barons who bare Armes against King *John*? Intended they not to have destroyed the most part of the Realm? Purposed they not to have killed the very Barons themselves, who were their friends and confederates? Had they not executed this their purpose, if a noble French-man who was in *England* had not as well in hatred of their intended cruelty, as in commiseration of the poor English Nobility, revealed upon his death-bed their barbarous intentions? To be brief, what severity used King *Lewis* surnamed for his lenity towards others, *Lewis* the M E E K, against *Bernard* his own Nephew, and rightful heir to the Crown of *France*, (as we have shewed in the second point which we handled) whom he not only deprived of his right, but also held him a long time in Prison, and condemned him to lose his eyes, which were accordingly pluckt out of his head; and his cheif Counsellours endured the like punishment: Of which both he and they complaining, not without just occasion, were so far from finding such compassion and remedy as they deserved, as that a new Edictment was framed both against him and them: Now with such Adversaries, with men of such cruelty, with such as had oftentimes falsified their faith, and broken their promises, what wise Prince would ever have used greater lenity, more mercy, or better Justice then the King of *England* shewed them? Especially considering the immortal hatred, deadly malice, and long emulations, competentions, quarrels, and contentions that have been always betwixt *England* and *France*.

Polid. Virg.
Holinshed.

DuHaillan.
Froissart.

The fifth Objection that they make against this Contract, is, *That the Kingdom of France cannot be given unto any man by Will or Testament*: Which priviledge seemeth unto me very strange, because I find by report of probable Histories, that the Kingdomes of *Spain*, *England*, *Aragon*, *Scotland*, *Poland*, and other Countries have been given away by Will and Testament; and therefore if the French-men will challenge an Immunity contrary to the custom of other Countries, and repugnant to the Law of all Nations, they must shew how they came by such a Priviledge, and why they should not follow the customes of other Kingdomes: For whosoever will alledge an exemption from the due observance of the Law must make it appear at what time, for what occasion, and by whom he or his Predecessors obtained the same, that the quality of the Giver, and the consideration and cause of the Grant being duly examined and discreetly considered, the strength and validity of his exemption may be well and perfectly seen. I know that there are many degrees of Princes, and that some Kings are in some manner subject unto others from whom they receive Lawes, and by whom they and their Kingdomes are ruled and directed. So hath *Scotland* been ruled by *England*, so hath *Denmark* acknowledged the Empire, so hath *Sicily* obeyed *Rome*; so hath the Pope challenged power and authority over the Empire. But all Histories agree in this, that although of other Kingdomes some be subject to the Pope, others unto the Emperour, yet the Kingdom of *France* is, and always hath been most absolute, neither depending upon the Emperour, nor being in any respect subject unto the Pope. That the Emperour hath no authority over *France*, was shewed when as *Sigismond* the Emperour would have made the Earl of *Savoy* a Duke in *Lyons*; for then the Kings Officers withstood him therein, and forced him, to his great grief, and in

The fifth
Objection,
with the
answer.

Hottomanus.

Gul. Benedictus, in c.
Raghuus
in verb.

mortui. n.

49. Terris
ubeus tract.

2. Con.

Clus. q.

Terapha.

Holinshed.

Heft. Boet.

Hift. Polonia.

a great fury and anger to depart thence, and out of all the dominion of *France*, before he could use in that point his Imperial power and authority: And that the Pope hath no manner of Authority, Prerogative, or Preheminence over *France*, it appeareth by the confession of all Canonists, who have written, and do write of the Popes Prerogatives: For albeit they make the Empire, and almost all the Kingdoms of the world, in some sort subject unto the See of *Rome*; yet they confess the King of *France* to be so absolute, that he acknowledgeth no Superior but God, and that there is no other Prince but he, unto whom some Pope or other hath not either given or confirmed his Estate and Kingdom. It must needs therefore follow, That there is no Superior out of *France*, who either hath or could bestow his priviledge upon *France*: And it appeareth by their own Histories; That there hath been nothing done within the Realm whereby their Kings have been forbidden to dispose their Kingdoms by their last Wills and Testaments: For *Dagobert*, King of *France*, in the presence of the principal Lords and Prelates of his Realm, made his last Will and Testament, and therein gave the Kingdom of *Austrasia* unto his Son *Sigisbert*; and the Kingdom of *France* unto his Son *Clovis*. Likewise *Charlemain* by Will and Testament, divided his Kingdom betwixt his three Sons; He gave unto *Charles* the best and greatest part of *France* and *Germany*; unto *Pipin*, *Italy* and *Baivera*; and unto *Lewis* that part of *France* which confineth and bordereth upon *Spain* and *Provence*; And caused this his Will to be ratified, confirmed and approved by the Pope; and intituled his Sons with the names of Kings. It is also written by French Historiographers, That *Philip de Valois* (who contended with *Edward* the Third for the Crown of *France*) ordained by his last Will and Testament, that *John* his eldest Son should succeed him in the Crown; and that his second Son *Philip* should enjoy for his part and portion, the Dukedom of *Orleans*, and the Earldom of *Valois*. Now these three Kings being of three Races of the French Kings, *Dagobert* of the *Merovingians*, *Charlemain* of the *Charlemains*, and *Philip de Valois*, although not directly, yet collaterally of the *Capets*, which are the three only Races that ever were in *France*; and they having disposed of their Kingdoms in manner as is aforesaid, it may well be presumed that others before them have or might have done the like, especially since there is no Law to be shewed which forbiddeth Kings to bequeath their Kingdoms by Will and Testament.

The sixth and last Objection which is made against this Contract is, That *Charles the sixth* could not lawfully dis-inherit his Son, who, by the custom of *France* was lawful and apparent Heir, and could not for any cause whatsoever, be deprived by his Father, or by any other, of that right which belonged unto him by the ancient Priviledge of *France*.

In this Objection there are two things intended; The one, That the Kings of *France* cannot deprive their Sons or next Heirs, for any occasion whatsoever, of their Right, Title, and Interest to the Royal Crown and Dignity. The other, That the next of the blood Royal, according to the Custom before mentioned, must of necessity succeed and enjoy the Kingdom.

This Objection is (in my simple opinion) of greatest force, because I read not in all the Histories of *France*, that ever any King thereof, but *Charles the sixth* did dis-inherit his Son: True it is that *Charles the seventh* was thus dis-inherited, being plagued by God for his disobedience towards

Du Haillan

Piero Mex-
ias vida de
Carlo
Magno.

Du Haillan
lib. 15. p.
214.

The sixth
Objection
with the
Answer.
John de
Terra Ru-
bea tract. 2.
conclus. 9.
10, 11, 12.
Guliel. Be-
nedictus in
c. Ragnat.
in verbum
& eodem
text. num.
148. Guido
Papianus
quest. 279.

wards his Father, with a Son as undutiful and disobedient in all respects, as himself was, sent unto the Pope to advise him how he might dis-inherit his eldest Son, who had divers times rebelled against him, and bestow the Kingdom upon his second Son, in whom he never found any manner of disobedience; but the difficulty is resolved by this reason following: For if a Kingdom may be given by Will and Testament (as is to be presumed) that it may also be taken away from one, and bestowed upon another, when there is just cause given by him who layeth claim thereunto; why he should be dis-inherited, especially when as there is no such necessity of successive inheritance, as hath hitherto been mentioned; And in case it be doubtful whether a Kingdom may be taken from the right Heir, and be bequeathed unto another, the custom of the Country in private mens Inheritance is to be considered: because most commonly, such as the Law is in part, such it is in the whole; and for that generally the Nobility of every Realm (who regard the conservation of their Honour and Dignity in their Families, no less then Princes do the preservation of the Royal Authority in their Posterity) do follow and imitate the manner, Law, and Order of their Kings, touching the disposition of their Kingdoms: And even as they usually dispose of their Principalities, so do the other of their Baronies, and inferior Estates, by what Name or Title soever they be called: If therefore it can be shewed that any of the chief Nobility of *France*, have at any time dis-inherited their lawful Heirs, it may justly be presumed that the Kings of *France* may do the like, when the like occasion is offered unto them: The Lords of *Bearne* have time out of mind, been of such power and might in *France*, that the Kings thereof have in all Ages made great account and reckoning of them; And the present King of *France* is Lord thereof; and by his Adversaries the Spaniards (who will hardly vouchsafe him the name of a King of *France* or of *Navar*, because they take him to be lawful King of neither of these Kingdoms) is commonly called in their Writings, Lord of *Bearne*. The Earls also of *Foix*, have beyond the memory of man, been of such worth and estimation, that it is written of them, (when they were also Lords of *Bearne*) they cared neither for the King of *Aragon*, nor for the Kings of *Navarra*, for they were able upon any urgent occasion to keep more men at Arms at one time, then both those Kings could make at two several Levies. Both these Lordships or Seigneuries, are now under the Kingdom of *Navar*; and the principal members thereof, and the Lords and lawful Owners of each of them, dis-inherited their next and lawful Heirs, only for ingratitude and unkindness towards them; for the French Histories report, that *Gaston* Lord of *Bearne* had but two Daughters; the eldest of which he married unto the Earl of *Armignack*, and the younger unto the Earl of *Foix*, who was Nephew unto the King of *Aragon*: It fortun'd that the said *Gaston* had Wars with the King of *Spain*, wherein he desired help of the Earl of *Armignack*, who refused to succour him; and the Earl of *Foix* help him with such power and force, that he enforced the King to very reasonable conditions of Peace; in recompence of which service, *Gaston* made the Earl of *Foix* his sole Heir; and caused the Nobles and Gentlemen, together with all other his Subjects, to confirm and ratifie his Grant; whereupon followed great strife and contention between the two Earls.

Nich. Gyles
Froissart.

Froissart.

It is also written in the Chronicles of *France*, that in the year 1391. Nich. Gyles the

DuHaillan.
lib. 21.

The Earl of *Foix*, because his Son, by the consent and counsel of the King of *Navar*, went about to have poisoned him, gave his Earldom from him, to the King of *France*, who presently bestowed the same upon the Earl of *Candales*. Here you see two Heirs disinherited by their Father, whose Act was generally reputed and held lawful. Now you shall see the like cause in *Charles* the seventh; and why should it not be thought lawful for his Father to inflict upon him the like punishment? The one of them denied his Father in law such help as he demanded; The other purposed to have poisoned his own Father: The unkindness of both was not in all degrees equal, yet their punishments were in all respects alike. The Father of the one incurred no loss by his Son in lawes disobedience, and the Father of the other lived not a minute of an hour the less, notwithstanding his Sons wicked purpose. But *Charles* the 6th case was in many respects lamentable, and his Sons ingratitude for many causes worthy of greater punishment then the loss of a Kingdom; for he murdered the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of the chief Peers of *France*, and when he was summoned by Proclamation to shew some cause before his Father, and the Nobles of *France*, why he had committed so horrible a murder, did not only not appear at his Fathers Summons, but also defended his cruelty in killing the Duke, and his disobedience in not appearing at his Fathers Commandment, by force of Armes: For which unnatural Rebellion, not his Father alone, but the whole Council and Nobility of *France*, gave Judgement that he should be banished the Realm, and reputed unworthy to succeed his Father, either in the whole Kingdom, or in any part or parcel thereof; which done, and Judgment being both begun and ended with all such solemnities as in the like cases are required, must of necessity be held and reputed most just and equal, since both Law and mans reason neither hath nor can invent any better means to chastise and correct the unnatural disobedience of rebellious children towards their Parents, then by depriving them of their Patrimony descending from their Parents. And if Princes should be debarred of this manner of correction, they should be in far worse condition then their poorest Subjects; for Princes Children having more occasions to lead them to wickedness, then their Subjects Children have, if they should not be restrained by disinheritance, would undoubtedly go far beyond all others in lewdness and unhappiness; because Princes and Noble-men, whether they give themselves unto virtue or unto vice, most commonly excell the meaner sort in both, as it may evidently appear unto such by reading the lives of Princes and Peers of all Realms and Kingdoms, shall find such rare Presidents of virtues and vices in them, as far exceed mans reason, or will hardly be credited or beleaved of any man. Was there ever any private man comparable to *Nero* for cruelty, or to *Vespasian* for mercy? to *Solomon* for wisdom, or to *Childerick* of *France* for folly? to *Trajan* for goodness, or to *Cambyfes* for murder? to *Turquin* for pride, or to *Lewis* of *France* for meekness? to *Cesar* for liberality, or to *Caligula* for avarice? to *Marcus Aurelius* for moderation and temperance, or to *Commodus* for prodigality and dissoluteness? Briefly, to *Antonius* and *Titus* for lenity and clemency, or to *Dionisius* and *Tiberius* for rigor and severity? For undoubtedly, as long as the provocations to vices, and the allurements to virtues are more and greater in Princes then in private men, so long will the one far exceed the other in virtues or in vices; Then since it is behevoful

behoveful for every Common-wealth to be ruled by good Princes; it must also behove good Parents to be careful to leave good children to succeed after them, and not to be so affected to the eldest of their children because he is the first of their strength, as to make him, and no other but him, their sole Heir and Successor, although he alone be wicked and ill given, and the rest wise, discreet, and vertuous; so he unworthy to Govern, and they most fit to Rule; because he would overthrow, and they uphold the whole Estate and Kingdom.

The Consideration hereof, moved the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who had a good and a bad Son, when he was visited with a Disease that was mortal, greatly to lament his own death; not because he was loth and unwilling to dye, knowing as he did, that death was the end of all miseries, and the beginning of everlasting felicity; but for that he was bound by the custome, generally, and time out of mind received and allowed by his Predecessors, contrary to his will and desire, to leave the Empire of *Rome* (which had been ruled a long time by his many years and great experience) to be Governed and Ruled by the indiscreet youth and youthful indiscretion of his bad Son *Commodus*.

Vita de
Marc. Au-
relia.

The Consideration hereof, caused *James* King of *Aragon* and *Sicily*, to perswade his eldest Son *James* (who was more fit to live sequestred from the company of men, in a Monastery, then to sway a Monarchy) to leave the world, and betake himself to a Monastical life, suffering his second Brother *Alphonfus*, (upon whom God had bestowed sufficient gifts and qualities capable of a Kingdom) to succeed his Father in both Kingdoms.

Tarapha
illecas lib.
6.

The Consideration hereof induced *Robert* King of *France* to make his second Son *Henry* his Heir and Successor in the Kingdom, because he knew that God had endowed him with a far better spirit and wit, more fit to Command and Govern then his eldest Son *Robert* had, upon whom he bestowed the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

Du Haillan
lib. 6.

The Consideration hereof moved not only *Lewis* surnamed the *Groß*, King of *France*, but also all the Peers and States of the same Realm, to make *Lewis* his second Son King, because *Robert* his eldest Son was by him and them, for want of judgment and understanding, judged unfit and unworthy to bear or sway the Crown of *France*; and therefore he and they held it sufficient to bestow upon him the Earldom of *Dreux*.

Du Haillan
lib. 8.

Lastly, The Consideration hereof moved *Dagobert* King of *France* to intreat *Sigisbert* his eldest Son, who not being able in his opinion to Rule and Govern so great a Kingdom as *France*, and yet desirous to have the name of a King, to be contented with the small Kingdom of *Austrasia*, and to resign and give over his Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France* unto his younger Brother *Clonis*.

Du Haillan
lib. 2.

Considering therefore, That the Gifts which are required in a Prince are many and very difficult to be attained: That very few have wit and wisdom sufficient to govern a Kingdom: That of these few some use their wits to attain to their purpose; and when they have gotten their desire, leave both to be wise and vertuous, as I could declare by many Examples, if it were not to digress from my purpose:) And lastly, that the virtues of the Parents are obscured and blemished by the childrens vices; and the Predecessors Conquests are oftentimes either lost or diminished by the Successors folly and pusillanimity: It were a shame for the Father, a detri-

detri-

detriment to the Common-wealth, a wrong to the Kingdom, and an injury to the vertuous child, where there is a good Son to succeed a vertuous Father, to bind the same Father to leave little or nothing to his good children, and a whole Kingdom to him that is neither worthy nor well able to rule the thousand part thereof; And if at any time it be lamentable, yea scant tolerable, to prefer wicked children before them that are vertuous; and to lay a heavy charge and burthen upon their shoulders, who are not able to take up (much less to bear) the same, not for a day, but for the whole term of their natural life; truly it is much more to be lamented, yea, in no respect to be suffered, that such a Son should be set over others, to rule and govern them, who could nor would never govern himself well; to exact and require obedience of his Inferiors, who was always disobedient in the highest degree of disobedience unto his Superiors; to manage, husband, and increase the Treasure of a whole Kingdom, who hath prodigally wasted and consumed his own private Patrimony: Lastly, to induce others by his example to live honestly, justly, orderly, and virtuously (as Princes either do or should do) who never esteemed honesty, cared for justice, respected order, or embraced vertue.

John Bodin in his Book *de Republica*, writeth that a disobedient child of *France* being sued by his Mother for using himself unreverently towards her, and especially for easing his body in a mess of Broth which she had provided for her self; was condemned by a competent and wise Judge, to make her honourable amends; from which sentence the wicked Son disdainingly to ask his Mother pardon and forgiveness, appealed unto *Paris*, where it was found *bene appellatum*, and *male judicatum*, not that the Judges there thought that the Appellant had just cause to appeal, because he was enjoined to submit himself unto his Mother; but for that they were of opinion that the Judges from whom he had appealed, had not inflicted such punishment upon him as he deserved; And therefore considering his former disobedience, and also his unkind and unnatural perseverance therein, indiscreetly shewed, in refusing to make so slender a submission, they altered the former sentence, and gave judgment that he should be presently hanged, which was accordingly executed.

This sentence was highly commended by *Bodin*, and worthily allowed and praised by as many Frenchmen as did ever read the same in his Book.

And how can they dislike the Judgment given against *Charles* the seventh, not by any inferior Judge, but by a King; not by a Parliament of *Paris* (the Judges whereof may so hate an offence, that for the very and sole indignity thereof, they do likewise hate the offender) but by a Father, who had rather conceal then reveal, and pardon then punish his childrens offences; neither by a Father alone, but by the whole Peers and Nobles of a well ruled Kingdom: not lightly and without advice, but deliberately, and with great discretion and wisdom; Briefly, not in hatred of the offender, but in regard of the whole Common-wealth; which might perish under the hands and government of an unwise, untuly, and unnatural Prince, in whom there could be no hope of love towards them or their Country, because he had given manifest signs of want of love towards his Father, whom nature and other respects bound him to love, honour, and reverence; for Princes as well as private men, and the chil-

children of the one, as well as the off-spring of the other, are equally and undoubtedly bound to obey Gods Laws, and Commandments; And if both in one manner presume to break the same, both without all doubt and controversie are subject to one and the same measure of punishment.

But it may be said, Laws are made by Princes, and not for Princes; and to bind their inferiour subjects, and not themselves or their children; who for their Fathers sake, for the privilege of their birth, for the worthiness of their place, and in regard of the authority and preheminance whereunto they are born, may and ought to challenge and enjoy far greater immunity, yea, and sometimes more impunity then other Peers, or private men: certainly reason permitteth, and humanity perswadeth to favour a Prince much more then a subject. But it was both the Will and the Law of a worthy Prince, That nothing commendeth the Majesty of a Prince more, then to submit himself to the observance of his own Laws: and there can be no better means to induce subjects to shew their obedience unto their Princes Laws, then the example of their own Princes; not vouchsafing to violate the least branch that is of their own Statutes and Constitutions. Was not that King highly commended by his own subjects, praised by his posterity, and worthily extolled even in our age, not meaning that the son who had by breach of the Law deserved to lose both his eyes, should escape unpunished (which might be offensive unto his subjects) but intending to moderate and qualifie the rigour of the Law, because he was his Heir (which for some considerations is tolerable in Princes) plucked out one of his own eyes, and another of his Sons, thereby satisfying, it not the rigour, yet the equity of the Law; and thereby moving his subjects to compassion in regard of himself, and to obedience to the same Law in consideration of his justice.

I have stood too long upon the confutation of this last objection, and yet have touched but one part thereof; and therefore I will run over the other part lightly, because in refelling the same, I shall need but to make a brief repetition of that which hath been said already: for if you remember that not *Bernard* the Nephew, but *Lewis* the Meek succeeded his brother *Pipin*, eldest son to *Charlemaigne*, and father to *Bernard*; That *Pipin*, and not the right Heir was king after *Childerick*; that *Hugh Capet*, and not *Charls* Duke of *Lorrain* enjoyed the Crown immediately after *Lotharius*: That *Dagoberts* second son, and not the eldest possessed the Royal Scepter after him: That *Henry* the younger, and not the elder brother ruled after king *Robert* their Father; and that *Lewis* the second, and not *Robert* the eldest child of king *Lewis* the *Gross*, was called to the royal Scepter and Crown of *France*; and also, if it may please you to call to remembrance that *Pharamond*, with divers others before-mentioned, were chosen kings, you shall easily see and perceive, that there hath been no such custome, or at the least-wise the same not so inviolable as it is suggested, for the next of the Blood to succeed always in his own right, and not as Heir to his Predecessor. In like manner if you please to understand that *Theodrick* the first king of *France* of that name, because he was a man wholly given over to pleasure, of small worth, of less value, and of no sufficiency capable of so great a Kingdom as *France* was and is, was by the States of his Realm deprived of his Royal Crown and Dignity, and put up in a Monastery. That *Lewis* surnamed *Do nothing*, because he had made *France* Tributary unto *Normandy*, was also driven by the States to give over his

Du Haillan
lib. 2, 6, 8.

Nic. Gyles.

Idem.

Idem.

Kingdom, and to lead the residue of his life in a house of Religion; And that the Peers of *France* not regarding the young years of *Charls* the son of *Lewis* their King, deprived him of his right, and made *Eude* Earl of *Paris* king of *France*; You may think it as lawful for *Charls* the 6. to deprive his Son *Charles* of his Inheritance, for the horrible murther committed (as it hath been said) on the person of the Duke of *Burgundy*, a Prince of the blood royall, a Peer of *France*, and a Counsellour unto the King his Father; and for the great, manifest, and undutiful disobedience which he shewed unto his Father, as it was for the States of the same Realm to deprive *Theodorick* for his Insufficiency, *Lewis* for his Pusillanimity, and *Charles* for his youth. So you see the last Objection refuted by their own Examples. And as you see the cause why it is said that the Kings of *France* cannot dis-inherit their children; so I will let you understand the reason why they have invented a new shift or device, thereby to deprive those of their due who made claim to such debts as the Kings of *France* owed them.

Smillerus
de republica
Helvetio-
rum.

There was a time (and so it is still) when a King of *France* dyed greatly indebted to the *Switzers*, which debt they challenging of his immediate Successor and Heir, who dyed in their debt; It was answered, that although true it was that Contracts do bind the Contrahents and their heirs, as well private men as Princes, yet the Kings of *France* not succeeding as Heirs, but as Successors by custom, are not within the meaning and sense of that Law which speaketh of Contracts and their Contrahents, and their Heirs only. By which cavil the poor *Switzers* were deceived of their due debt, as we English-men have been debarred of our Claims, Titles and Rights, sometimes by the Law *Salique*, which was (as I have said) no Law of *France*, and sometimes by such exceptions, devices, and subtleties, as I have lately specified.

The reasons
why Eng-
land chal-
lengeth not
her right in
France.

The fourth point whereat they wonder, is, why the Kings of *England* having good right unto the Crown of *France*, and better success when they demanded their Right by Fire and Sword, do not still prosecute their demand, and did quickly lose whatsoever they or their Predecessors got in many years.

Du Haillan
Polid. Virg.
Holinshed.

This point consisteth of two severall points, the one why we forbear to challenge our right? the other by what occasion we lost all that some of our Kings had conquered, especially *Henry* the fifth, who subdued the greatest part of *France*, and although he dyed very young, yet he left his Son *Henry* the Sixth, being an Infant of few years, so mighty at home so be-friended abroad, so accompanied with good Souldiers, so well assisted with good Counsellours, so followed by cunning and expert captains, and so directed by wise and discreet Generals, that when he was but ten years of Age, he was crowned at *Paris* King of *France* by the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*, and in the presence of the chief Peers and Nobility of *France*.

This first point is easily answered, because ever since the first time we laid claim to the Crown of *France*, those Princes of ours who were Martial men, and inclined to Wars, demanded their Right by open Wars; as both ours and their Chronicles do testifie. But it pleased God sometimes to send us (as he doth unto other Kingdomes) such Princes as were rather given to pleasure, and unto peace, rather then unto Wars, and Martial exploits; in whose time the Frenchmen were wise enough to
take

take advantage of their quiet and peaceable natures; and when our Kings and Subjects, following (as Subjects commonly do) the humours and qualities of their Princes, gave themselves unto pleasures and pastimes, the French followed the Wars; and either by open Invasions, or by subtile devices, recovered part of their losses. Besides it hath sometimes fortuned, that when we had valiant Princes, and such as had both good will and sufficient power to recover their Right, our Realm hath either been divided within it self, and by domestical dissention hindred to prosecute Forraign Wars: Or that our Kings coming by their kingdoms by force of Armes, have had more mind and occasion to stablish and assure the same unto themselves and their Heirs, then to make Wars abroad. Again during the contentions betwixt the houses of Lancaster and of York, sometimes the one part, and sometimes the other sought favour and friendship, and alliance of the Kings of France; and they who prevailed in their attempts and purposes, by their aid, furtherance and sufferance; thought it an especial point of wit and policy to seek and continue their Amity; yea, and sometimes to buy the same with very hard conditions; lest that having them for their Enemies, they should either invade their Realms, or assist their Competitors, who most commonly fled unto them for help; relief, and succour. For as many of our Kings as have been driven out of their Royal Seats and Dignities by their domestical Adversaries, have been either entertained, or restored to their Crowns by the Kings of France and Scotland, the Dukes of Burgundy, or the Princes of Henaulx; as were Edward the fourth, Henry the second, the sixth and the seventh. Besides some of the kings of France, as namely, Lewis the twelfth, and Francis the first, doubting that our Kings would annoy them at home whilest they were busied in Forraign Wars, corrupted our Kings Council with bribes, and with yearly rewards and pensions made them so bound and beholding unto them, that they did not only bewray their Masters secrets, but also diverted their purposes; and if at any time they were purposed to molest France, or to joyn with the Enemies of France; they changed the Kings minds, and perswaded them not only, not to hinder, but also to help and further the French Kings in all their Enterprises, and against all their Enemies. And they were not only contented to see our cheif Counsellors, as Francis the first aid Cardinal Wolsey, who bare such sway with Henry the eighth, changed his determination so often, made him friend and enemy to whom he would, and favoured the Emperour Charles the fifth, and sometimes the French king his common Adversary, in such manner, that it was commonly said, that Cardinal Wolsey ruled the French King, the King of England, and the Emperour; but also they purchased our Kings favour and furtherance with yearly Fees and Pensions. For it is written that Lewis the eleventh to retain and entertain the King of England for his friend, payed him yearly in London 50000 Crowns, and bestowed yearly 16000 other Crowns upon his cheif Counsellors, the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls, and when our King had any occasion to send any Embassadour unto him, he received them so honourably, entertained them so friendly, rewarded them so liberally, and dispatched them with so fair words, although their Embassage was never so unpleasant and displeasing unto him, that they departed alwayes very well contented. And albeit that some of them knew that whatsoever he did, was to win time to

Da Haillan
Phil. de
Comines.
Holinshead.
Polid. Virg.
Hect. Boet.

Vie da
Francois
Premier de
ce nom.

Phil. de
Comines.

work his will and purposes, yet because they got much by their dissimulation, they dissembled their knowledge, and never acquainted our King with his secret intentions.

The same *Lewis*, besides this manner of entertaining of our Ambassadors, used (when there was any great matter in debate and contention betwixt us and him) to receive all Ambassages that were sent unto him, and never to answer any of them, but alwaies promised to send other Ambassadors after them, who should bring his answers, and give our king such assurance of all things whereof he had occasion to doubt, that he should have no longer cause to be discontented; and when it came to the sending of such Ambassadors, because he would be still assured to gain time, he sent such personages as never had been in *England* before; to the end, that if his former Ambassadors had promised any thing that was not performed, or begun any Treaty that was not finished, the latter should not be able to make any answer thereunto, but enforced to desire some time and respite to acquaint their Master therewith, and to crave and have his resolution therein.

Further, you may remember that it hath been already said, that the Almighty, to the end that Kingdoms should remain still under their natural Princes, or being transferred from one Nation to another, should at length return unto kings of their own Nation, who indeed are more fit to govern them, of his infinite goodness toward man doth usually send a peaceable Successor after a Warlike Prince, in whose time the conquered recover either all or part of their losses, which by his heavenly will and pleasure hath hapned in *England* as well as in other places: For we have had such Princes as did as well lose what their Predecessors had conquered, or recover what some of them lost. We won in the time of *Richard* the first the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and sold it presently. We enjoyed by reason of the marriage with the daughter and heir of *VVilliam* Duke of *Aquitaine*, and wife unto *Henry* the 2. that Dukedome better then 300 years, and at the last lost the same by negligence. We possessed the Dukedome of *Nor-mandy* 350 years, and lost it in the time of *Charls* the 7. We subdued *Scotland* in *Edw.* 1. time, and lost it not long after. We conquered *Ireland* better then four hundred years since, and yet retain it. VVe ruled in *Flanders* for a while, and were driven out of *Flanders* after a small while. Briefly, it is written by some, that *Brenaus* who first took and conquered *Rome*, was an Englishman, and that he continued his conquest but a very short time.

And as we have had good fortune against others, so others have not wanted good success against us: for the *Romans* conquered us, the *Saxons* subdued us, the *Danes* ruled us, and lastly the *Normans* had the upper hand of us; of whom our Kings are lineally descended, and in whose race they have continued better then 500 years.

Again it is usual betwixt Princes, when they are wearied with long, tedious, chargeable and dangerous wars, to desire peace, and to yeild to the same upon reasonable conditions; and in consideration of their troubles endured in wars, of their charges sustained thereby, and of their subjects impoverished by the means thereof, to take long times of Truce, and surcease from wars, within which time it is not lawful to do any act of hostility. And this occasion hath also restrained some of our Princes for attempting any thing against *France*, although they had great desire to re-

cover

DeHaillan.
Polid. Virg.
Holinshed.
Annales de
Aquitain.
T. Walling.
in his New-
stria.
Hæd. Boet.

cover their right in *France*: Moreover it hath now and then hapned, that when we have been determined to prosecute our right, we either have been diverted by the entreaty of other Princes, who have been mediators for peace betwixt *France* and us; Or hindred by the departure of such Confederates from our part, as promised to aid and assist us in our enterprises. Or drawn from them to defend our selves at home, by reason of the sudden invasions which have been made by the *Scots* upon *England*, at the intreaty and perswasion of the French, which hath been the usual policy of the Kings of *France*, to turn the wars from themselves upon us; alwaies retaining the *Scots* for their friends and confederates, for no other purpose, but either to help them when we came into *France*, or to make war with us when we intended to have carried our Forces thither.

Again, either by the weakness or by the corruption of our Council, we have (as hath been said) been so over-reached by the Frenchmen in all such agreements as we have made with them, that when we have won the whole, we have been contented with part, and when as we might have had mountains, we have vouchsafed to accept mole-hills; yea, we have bound our selves to relinquish our Right, to renounce our Titles, and give over all our Interests.

So at what time Prince *Edward* married *Isabella* daughter of *Philip* sir-named the *Fair*, we resigned the Dutchy of *Guyenna*,

So *Edward* sir-named *Long-hands*, acquitted the French King of all the right he had to the Crown of *France*, to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and to the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Mayne*, *Tourrain*, and *Poitou*.

So *Edward* 3. having taken King *John* of *France* prisoner at *Poitou*, and retained him four years prisoner in *England*, took certain Towns and Countries in *France* for his rancome, and surrendred the residue of *France* into his hands, to be held by him and his heirs for ever; and with exprefs condition never to lay any claim thereunto thereafter.

These agreements have been another cause why we have repressed our desires, and not prosecuted our rights.

Lastly, when we conquered *France*, and had continual wars therewith, the Realm was not then as it hath been of late years united, void of dissention, free from civil wars, in the hands, and under the government of one King, and not divided, dis-membred, and possessed with divers petty Princes, who either for alliance with us, or for some quarrel betwixt them and the French Kings, were alwaies ready to aid and assist us. So we had help somtimes of the Duke of *Burgundy*, of the Earl of *Anjou*, of the Duke of *Britain*, of the Earls of *Foix*, of *Flanders*, of *Holland*, and of *Arminack*, and somtimes of the Kings of *Navar*, and of the Emperors of *Germany*; which helps of late years failing us, and the reasons already mentioned, have occasioned our weak, slender, and slack pursuit of the Title and Interest which we pretend unto the Crown of *France*.

Now to the second Point of this fourth Point, wherein I should spend so much time, and overweary you with too long & impertinent discourse, if I should relate unto you the time and manner, how and when we lost *Normandy*, *Aquitania*, and every other member of *France*; and therefore it shall suffice to shew you, how and when we had conquered almost all *France* in a few years, we lost again all in a very short time.

Both ours and the French Histories agree in this Point, That either in, or immediately after the happy and prosperous Reign of *Henry* the fifth, we

The Causes
and means
how we
lost all
France.

we flourished, and possessed most in *France*; and lost all, or most part of all, in the time of his Son *Henry* the sixth.

The ways how this came to pass were many, I have reduced them unto four and twenty; the least of every of which was, and hath been enough to lose whole Estates and Kingdom, not gotten by Conquests, which are easily recovered, but descending by Inheritance, which are hardly lost.

Holinshed.
Polid. Virg.
Du Haillan.
Ph. de Co-
mines.
Paulus A-
milius.

The first Cause of our loss of whatsoever King *Henry* the fifth had gotten in *France*, was the death of King *Charles* the sixth; for when he was dead, many of the French Nobility (which before either for fear of the English puissance, or for the love which they bore unto King *Charles*, favoured and furthered our part) revolted from us unto the *Dolphin*, his disinherited Son; and it is usual in Factions, the head of one side being dead or suppressed, the residue be so weakened or feared, that either all or the most part either fly unto their Adversaries, or else make their peace with them, with as reasonable conditions as they can possibly; as was seen by the death of *Pompey*, whose Adherents fled unto *Cæsar*, or sought his favour, after their principal Ring-leader and Guide was slain.

The second Cause was the sparkles of sedition and strife which began betwixt us and the Duke of *Burgundy*, our principal Aider and Abettor, who was highly discontented with us, because that *Humphry*, Duke of *Glocester*, either blinded with ambition, or doting with the love of the Lady *Faquet*, sole Heir unto the County of *Holland*, had married her, notwithstanding that her Husband *Fohn*, Duke of *Brabant*, and Brother to the Duke of *Burgundy*, was then living.

The third Cause was, the liberty of *James* King of *Scotland*, who being Ransomed with courtesie, and having sworn Loyalty unto the young King *Henry* the sixth, was no sooner in his own Country, then he forgot his Oath, and allyed himself with the French King.

The fourth was, the Revolt and departure of the Duke of *Britany*, and his Brother, from us unto the French King.

The fifth Cause was, the dissention betwixt the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, who governed the young King; for appealing whereof the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was called home.

The sixth, the liberty of the Duke of *Alacon*, who being Ransomed in the Regents absence, did greatly strengthen the *Dolphin*'s power.

The seventh, the death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and of the worthiest and most fortunate Captain that ever *England* bred at *Orleans*; After whose decease the English good and prosperous fortune presently began to decline.

The eighth, was the refusal of the Duke of *Bedford* to suffer *Orleans* to yeild to the Duke of *Burgundy*; Of which refusal there proceeded two great inconveniencies:

The one, That they of *Orleans* offering to yeild themselves unto the said Duke, because they held it less dishonourable to yeild unto a Frenchman, then unto an English Prince, although it were to the behalf and use of the King of *England*; and seeing their offer refused, grew (as many both before and since have done upon the like occasion) so wilful, obstinate and desperate, that we could never get their Town, but suffered great losses in laying and continuing our Siege thereat a very long time, and indured such shame by departing thence without taking the same, that even until this day (as I saw of late years my self) they yearly celebrate that

this day as Festival, to our great dishonour, whereon they compelled us to withdraw thence our overwearied and bootless Forces.

The other, That the Duke of *Burgundy* thinking by this refusal that we envied his Honour too much, who had rather lose a Town of such strength and importance as *Orleans* was, then to suffer it to yield unto him; although it were (as I have said) to our own use and advantage, began by little and little to remove his affection, and unfeigned friendship and furtherance from us.

The ninth, The often conveying of Forces out of *England* into *Holland*, and in succour of the Duke of *Glocester* against the Duke of *Brabant*, who as mortal enemies, warred one upon the other, for the cause above mentioned; and also into *Bohemia*, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, for the Pope *Martin*, who intended to make a Conquest of *Bohemia*.

The tenth, The *Dolphins* policy who refused divers times to put tryal of his cause to the hazard of a Battel.

The eleventh, The mistrust and jealousy which the Regent had of the *Parisians*; for fear of whose wavering and unconstant minds (a fault whereto they have always been greatly subject) the said Regent left divers times very good and advantageous occasions to fight with the *Dolphin*, and return to *Paris*.

The twelfth, The variance and strife betwixt the Duke of *Bedford*, then Regent, and the Cardinal of *Winchester*, proceeding of this cause especially, for that the Cardinal presumed to command the Regent to leave off that name during the Kings being in *France*; affirming, the chief Ruler being present, the Authority of the substitute to cease, and to be derogate.

The thirteenth, The death of the Dutches of *Bedford*, Sister unto the Duke of *Burgundy*, with whom dyed the true friendship between the two Dukes.

The fourteenth, The foolish pride of the Duke of *Bedford*, who coming from *Paris* of purpose to *S^t Omers*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and appointed and chosen a convenient place for them to meet, and end all contentions betwixt them both, thought that the Duke of *Burgundy* should have come to his Lodging to have visited him first, as Son, Brother, and Uncle unto Kings; And the Duke of *Burgundy* being Lord of that place, would not vouchsafe him that Honour, but offered to meet him half way; which the Duke of *Bedford* refusing, they departed the Town discontented, and without seeing one another, and never after saw and conferred together.

The fifteenth, The Duke of *Burgundy* displeased with this occasion, and won, partly by the outcries of his own people (overwearied with wars) and partly by the general council held at *Arras* for the according and agreeing of the two Kings, joineth with the French King.

The sixteenth, The death of the Duke of *Bedford*, who being a man thoroughly acquainted with the humors and wars of *France*, by reason of his long continuance in the one, and conversation with the other, died the fourteenth year of *Henry* the 6. his Reigne, and presently after many French Noblemen, and worthy Souldiers who followed the said Duke, with-drew themselves from the English Faction.

The seventeenth, The Duke of *York* his Successors so long stay in *England*, occasioned by the malice of the Duke of *Somerset*, that before his coming into *France*, *Paris*, and many other good Towns of *France* had yielded unto the *Dolphin*.
The

The eighteenth, The sending over but of hundreds, yea, of scores, where before thousands were sent, to keep Holds not comparable to *Paris*, and other such like places.

The nineteenth, An unprofitable marriage concluded betwixt our King, and *Margaret* daughter unto *Rainer* king of *Sicily* and *Jernsalem*, by the means of the Earl of *Suffolk*, corrupted (as it was thought) by money: for the King had nothing with her, but delivered for her the Dutchy of *Anjoyne*, the City of *Mouns*, and the Countrey of *Mayne*; which Countries were the very stayes of the Dutchy of *Normandy*.

The twentieth, The Earl of *Arminack* (with whose Kinswoman the King should have married) by reason of the aforesaid marriage, became the Kings enemy, and the chief cause of the loss of the Dukedom of *Aquitain*.

The one and twentieth, The Queen disdaining that the King her husband should be ruled by the Duke of *Glocester*, never left till she had brought him to his untimely death.

The two and twentieth, The Dukes death, which divers French Noblemen hearing of, revolted from our King; whose Realm was (as he knew) divided within it self, because *Richard* Duke of *York*, allyed by his wife unto the chief Peers of the Realm, began to contemn the King, who was ruled by his wife, and to lay claim privily unto the Crown, whereby mens minds were not attentive unto Forreign affairs, but wholly given to prevent and keep off proffered wrongs at home.

The three and twentieth, The King himself, who being more given to a purchase of an heavenly, then of an Earthly Kingdom, regarded not the matter, but suffered the Queen to be governed by ill counsell.

The four and twentieth, The sudden, and as it were in a manner, the miraculous coming of the Virgin of *Orleans* unto the *Dolphin*, who wrought him very strangely to leave those follies whereunto he was vainly given, and to betake himself with more courage and diligence unto the violent pursuit and following of his cause. And because as of a few sparkles sometimes ariseth a great fire, so of very light occasions, now and then come wondrous effects; I will briefly declare unto you the history of this Virgin, and also the means how she being a base and mean Maiden, was reputed to be sent from heaven, to work such wonders as I may say in some manner with the *Dolphin*: This Maiden was a poor Shepherds daughter, and alwaies brought up to attend and keep her Fathers Sheep, until a Gentleman of some accompt and worth, dwelling not far off, thought it expedient, by reason of a bold spirit which was seen and observed to be in her, somewhat exceeding the common courage of women, to use her as an instrument to bring the *Dolphin*, who lay at *Borghes*, besotted with the love of a very fair Damsell, and careless of his own estate, and of the honour of his Realm, from that wretched security, unto a better trade of life, and a more earnest desire of the recovery of his losses: First he made the Maiden privie to divers secret qualities of the *Dolphin*, which he being an ancient and continual Courtier, had observed from him in his Infancy: Then by shewing her every day his Picture, as truly and lively drawn as might possibly be done, he acquainted her so well with the form and shape of his face, that she might easily know him, although he were never so much disguised amongst a number of other Courtiers: And thirdly, he learned her many other things far beyond the reach and capacity

city of a poor simple Maiden, and taught her both to foretel, and to do such things as made her to be taken for a very wise woman in the Country. This done, he resorteth to the Court, acquainteth divers Courtiers with his purpose and intention; and how that he, considering that many other policies and devices had failed, to make the *Dolphin* to be more careful of the present lamentable estate of *France*, had with much labour, travel, and study, invented a very ready way to stir him up to diligence and care of his Realm and Country, and to enforce or perswade him to forsake those pleasures which had not only seduced and mis-led him, but also the most and better part of his Nobility, by whose negligence *France* was already fallen into bondage, servitude, and thralldome. This matter, saith he, must be brought to pass, not by humane policy, but by perswading the *Dolphin* (as I have found a means how to do it) that God hath sent a Virgin as it were from heaven, to be his Guide and Leader against his enemies; whom (as long as he should follow) he should undoubtedly be accompanied with good and fortunate success. Having won divers friends of his to allow of his device, and to consent to the putting of the same in execution, he and they spread a rumour in the *Dolphin's* Court, of many strange things which they said had been already done by this Virgin, which report came in time to the *Dolphin's* ears, who being (as Princes, and others commonly are) very desirous to know the truth of this report, sent for this Gentleman (because it was told him that he dwelt very nigh unto her) and asked him what wonders she had wrought: He verified the common report, and added further, That she must needs have some secret vertues more then other men or women could commonly have, for that she had told him divers secrets of his own, which he never told unto any man: Which seeming somewhat strange unto the *Dolphin*, he (to make up the matter) assured him, that if she were called from her Fathers poor cottage to the Court, he would not think any thing untrue that was reported of her; for I dare undertake (said he) that she shall tell you your own secrets, and know you, and reverence you as King, although she never saw you in her life, and albeit you disguise your self in the habit of the meanest Courtier within your Court: And further, I have heard say, that she can and will direct you a course, how you shall (within a very short time) drive the Englishmen your enemies out of *France*.

The *Dolphin* somewhat astonished with the strangeness of this tale, and very desirous to see the Maiden, caused her presently to be sent for, disguised himself in a mean apparel, and willed one of his chief Noblemen to be honoured, apparelled, and accompanied as King, upon whom, he amongst the rest attended in proper person. The Maiden being brought to Court in a strange attire made for the nonce, and apparelled like a Souldier, and instructed in some points of Chivalry by the Gentleman before she came thither, and especially in the fashions of the Court, and other circumstances of the same, so demeaned her self, that it may be said of her, *Non minuit, sed auget presentia famam*; She findeth out the *Dolphin* presently in the midst of the thickest throng, yeildeth him reverence due and usually shewed unto a King: Who ravished with the strangeness thereof (for that it was certainly known that she was never in the Court, nor had at any time seen him) talketh with her, findeth her wise in her answers, and able to tell him most part of his secrets; and to be short, she being seconded by the Gentleman, and others (whom he, and the pity they had of the

poor estate of the Country, had made willing and ready to joyn with her in such petitions and motions as she had made unto the *Dolphin* (settled such an opinion of wisdom and holiness in him, that he presently took her for a guide sent from heaven, to direct him in all his doings; and by her persuasions, left his Love, and followed this maiden to the wars; who being always accompanied with good Captains, and counselled by them what directions she should give to the *Dolphin*, to the end she might win credit with him, at the first sped very well in many things which she attempted, and especially in raising our siege at *Orleans*, where I have seen her picture in brass, mounted upon a very large brazen horse, and there is yearly (as I have said before) a solemn Feast, and procession kept, in remembrance of her, that she drove the Englishmen from thence.

The *Dolphin* being thus animated by her, and encouraged by the good success which followed her for a while, proceeded so manfully, that he never left, until he had recovered all the Kingdom of *France*: So he by her sped not ill, but she for him had no good end; for being in the end taken by the Englishmen, and arraigned at *Rouen*, upon divers articles of witchcraft, was found guilty, and there burnt for a witch. A strange metamorphosis, and not so strange as ridiculous. But if you consider how many things *Scipio* perswaded a few Roman Souldiers to do, which were almost impossible to be done by a few, only by telling them that he had often and secret conference with a Goddess, who counselled him to put those things in execution, and promised him good success in those enterprises; you may easily think that his policy might work the effect which it wrought.

Marco Ar-
rogo fans
occino nel
suo gover-
no.

It is written of *Mahomet* the God of the *Turks*, that he grew to the credit and reputation of a God, by as mean a device as this; for he carryed a shew of holiness, was better learned then their Teachers were, had the gift of Eloquence, secretly had insinuated himself into the favour of the people, and to perswade them that he had secret conference with God, and that whatsoever he Preached unto them, was put into his mouth by the Holy Ghost; he had used a tame Dove to come and stand upon his shoulder, ever when he Preached unto them, and to join his Beak and Head unto his Ear, as though it did whisper something into his Ear; Whereby he won such credit, that not only his Laws were thought to proceed from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but he ever since hath been honoured for a God.

Hect. Boer.

It is written again of *Kemistus* King of *Scotland*, that when he had oftentimes endeavoured by divers ways to induce his Nobility to think well of his intended Wars against the *Picts*, and could not by any manner of persuasions prevail with them, he invented a policy never used or heard of before; he called his Council and Nobility together to consult of matters of weight, and held them in consultation until night, then he provided a great and costly Supper, which of set purpose he caused to continue until the night was very far spent, insomuch that they being overcharged with meat and drink, fell all asleep; then he commanded that into every one of their Chambers there should go a man apparelled in a long Gown, made of fish skins, with the scales still remaining upon them, who carryed in one hand a staff of rotten wood, because that it (as the scales of the fish do) in the dark, maketh a kinde of glittering able to astonish those who never saw the like; and in the other hand a great Oxes horn,

horn, out of which the man speaking, should give a sound and voice far differing from the voice of a man: These men so apparel'd, entering into the Counsellors chambers, spake in a great and grave voice, and said, *That they were Messengers sent thither from Heaven, to tell the Scottish Nobility, that they ought to hearken to the advice and Counsel that Kemitius their King gave them, and to aid and assist him to recover his Kingdom out of the hands and possession of the Picts*: When they had thus said, every one of them (as he was taught) hid his staff under his Gown, and gathering the fishes scales together in such manner, that it seemed unto the beholders, that as the glittering, so they suddenly vanished away. In the morning the Nobility met together, and every one of them telleth the King what he had seen and heard that night; he wondred thereat, as though he had not known thereof, telleth them he had the like vision, but thought not good to acquaint them therewith, lest that they glorying too much in the special favour which God shewed unto them, should by revealing the same, before it was time, unto over many, greatly offend his heavenly Majesty; but that he meant to shew unto them what he had heard and seen, when the Wars were happily undertaken and ended. The Nobility confirmed in the opinion of the Miracle by the Kings report, yeilded presently unto his Counsel, and with all possible speed made great preparation for the Wars against the *Picts*.

But now from these by-roles again to my purpose, which I might dilate and beautify with examples, confirming every one of these 24. Causes to be sufficient to lose a Kingdom; but your own reason and experience is able to assure you thereof; and therefore I will proceed no further in this Point; saying that I have thought good to clear one thing, which perhaps may seem doubtful unto you; for I think it will seem strange unto you why I call him by the name of *Dolphin*, whom the French Chronicles call *Charls* the seventh; you know that our Kings eldest Son, during the life of his Father, ever sithence that *Wales* was first conquered by *England*, was called the Prince of *Wales*; And so the eldest Sons of the Kings of *France*, have bin called *Dolphins* of *France*, since that *Imbert* and *Humbert* dyed without Heir, and gave *Dolphin* unto *Philip de Valois*, King of *France*, with condition that the eldest Son of the Kings should be called *Dolphins*; which name was given unto *Charls* the seventh during his Fathers life, when he was dutiful, and retained, after that he grew to disobedience and rebellion; yea continued by our Writers and Chroniclers, after his decease; for me thought it not convenient to call him King of *France*, because our King was then entituled by that name; but we vouchsafed him still the name of *Dolphin*, even as the Spaniards having deprived the present and rightful King of *Portugal* of his Kingdom, calling him still by the name of *Don Antonio*, as he was called before the Kingdom fell unto him by descent; and the Leaguers call the now King of *France*, not by the name of King of *France*, but King of *Navarra*; yea the Spaniards (as I have said before) considering that their King enjoyeth a great part of that Kingdom, and layeth claim to the whole, vouchsafeth him not the honour to call him king of *Navarra*; but in all their Writings they call him either the Prince of *Bearn*, or more plainly, the *Bernois*.

Hottoman.
Joh. Tilletius.
Du Haillan
lib. 15.

Pedro Corneio de la lyga y Confederacion Francesca.

The first point wherewith they wonder is, why the King of *Spain* (whose Predecessors not much more then 320 years agoe, were but very poor Earls of *Hapsburg* in *Switzerland*, until that in the year 1273. *Rodulph*

How the
King of
Spain his
Predecessors
grew from
mean Earls
to be might-
y Kings.

Earl of *Hapsburg* was chosen Emperour) is grown to be a King of more might, greater wealth, and larger Dominions, then either the Emperour, or any other Christian Prince possesseth at this present; and how he, and some of his Predecessors have kept and conserved the same, whereas the Emperour hath lost most part of his possessions, and we (as it hath been said) and many others besides us, have in a very few years departed, or rather been driven from all that we or they got and conquered in many years.

In this point there are these parts to be considered, The increase of the house of *Austria*, and how it came; The continuance thereof, and whence it proceeded; The fall and decay of the Emperour, and what was the cause thereof; Lastly ours and others losses, and how they happened. The *Spaniards* increase is rare, but not marvelous; because few Princes have been blessed with the like fortune; not marvelous, because the causes thereof are ordinary, and not in any respect strange or wonderful, for that very many mean men have enjoyed the like success; for of the Kingdomes, Dominions, and Seigniories which he now possesseth, he came by some justly, as those which came unto him by succession and inheritance; others valiantly, as those which his Ancestors conquered by force of Armes; some fortunately, as those which his Predecessors got by marriages; others most wrongfully, as those which he or they usurped unjustly.

So private men which grow unto excessive wealth, get some thereof with cunning, as that which they attain by deceit and policy, other some happily, as that which cometh unto them by marriage, some painfully, as that which they purchase by great Industry, other some wrongtully, as that which they extort from their Neighbours by violence, injury, wrong, or oppression. It is and hath been alwayes usual amongst Princes to give their Kingdomes and chief Dominions unto their eldest Sons, and the Appendancies unto their younger children; and those Princes who have commonly come by Election unto higher dignity then ever they expected, have likewise always accustomed for the increase of their greatness, and the advancement of their house and family, to bestow whatsoever falleth void in the time of their Government belonging unto the same, upon their children; even as Bishops, Deans, and other Prelates of the Church, in these dayes, grant all the Leases, Coppy-holds, Farms and Tenements which belonging unto their Bishoppricks, Deaneries, and Prebendaries, fall void in their time, upon their children, or their nearest kinsmen. But betwixt Princes and Prelates there is this difference, That Princes give with this condition, that for default of Heirs Males of their bodies unto whom they give, their gifts should return from whence they came; and Prelates for the most part give for term of life, or for certain years; and yet those Prelates who besides their prelacy challenge to be absolute Princes (of which number I read of none so absolute or liberal in that respect as the Pope of *Rome*) grant many times, not Seigniories, but Kingdomes and Principalities with the like conditions, yea and impose a yearly fee and pension to be paid unto them and their Heirs, unto whom they give out of the See of *Rome*, from whence they and their posterity receive the same gifts: So there was a time when *Benedict*, the twelfth Pope of *Rome*, gave unto *Suchin* the Viscount and Government of *Millan*, and of all the towns, and of all castles belonging to the jurisdiction there-

Historia
Pontifical.
de D.
Illecas Spani-
nisi.

of

of. So there was a time when the same Pope bestowed upon divers Princes the like gifts, as upon *Martin of Scala*, the cities of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, upon *William Gonzaga*, *Manina* and *Rezzo*, upon *Albertin Corazza*, *Padua*, and the Territories thereof, upon *Obizes Esteenses*, *Ferrara*, and the Dukedom thereof: So there was a time when as *Lewis* the Emperour, either to be as liberal as the Pope, or to have as many friends as the Pope, gave unto *Geleotto Malatesta*, the Regiment of *Arminio*, *Pescaro*, and *Fano*, unto *Anthony Mountefeltro* the Dukedom of *Urbine*, and the Country called *La Marca* unto *Geytel de Veronio*, the Dukedom of *Chamerino* unto *Guido de Polenti*, the city of *Ravenna* unto *Cinbaldo Ordelafo*, the cities of *Furly* and of *Cesena* unto *John Manfred Faenza*, and unto *Lewis Adolisti* the city of *Imola*: So there was a time when as Pope *Urban* gave unto *Charles* Earl of *Argiers* and of *Provence*, the kingdom of *Sicily*, and the Dukedomes of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, to hold them unto the fourth generation, who promised to pay him yearly seventy thousand Crowns for the same Kingdom and Dukedomes. So briefly, there was a time when as *Alexander* the sixth giving his only Daughter in marriage unto the Duke of *Ferrara*, confirmed unto him and his Heirs the same Dukedom, and reduced the yearly pension thereof from fourty thousand Crowns unto a thousand Ducates, not in imitation, but in the self same manner as those Popes and those Emperours used: the forementioned Emperour *Rodolph*, sometimes Earl of *Hapsburg*, having attained the possession of the Empire; contrary to all mens expectations, and perhaps far beyond his own deserts, meaning to increase his own ability, and to benefit his heirs and posterity for ever thereby, bestowed the kingdom of *Austria*, which in his own time for want of Heirs Males reverted unto the Empire, upon his son *Albert*, to hold it for ever of the Empire; and from this *Albert* came all the house of *Austria*, until *Charles* the fifth, who was Emperour and Father to the present king of *Spain*.

Piero Mexi.
Vida de Ludovico Sp.

Nich. Giles.

Guicciard.

Vida de Don Alonso.

There began his house: Now shall you see how it came to further advancement. His States, some are within his native Country, and some without the same: They within, are the Kingdoms of *Castile*, of *Aragon*, and of *Lyons*, &c. twelve in number; sometimes belonging unto so many several Princes, and in process of time united and appropriated unto one. So was *France* in ancient time divided into three Kingdoms; as the Kingdom of *Mets*, with the Country adjacent; of *Soisson*, with the Territory thereunto adjoining; and of *Paris*, with the Provinces thereunto belonging. And the Kings of these several Kingdoms bore the names of the places where they kept their Courts: So was *Thibault* king of *Mets*, *Childebert* king of *Paris*, and *Clotarius* of *Soissons*: So in the year 514. was added unto these three Kingdoms a fourth, namely *Orleans*; and every one of those Kings was commonly called King of *France*; and for the better knowledge of them, and difference between them, it was added, The King of *France* holding his Mansion house or Royal Court at *Paris*, at *Orleans*, at *Soissons*, or at *Mets*. And the Sovereignty of *Basemain* of these four Kingdoms was due only unto the King of *Paris*, as unto the chief and principal King, until in the year 618. all these kingdoms were united and incorporated into one. So was *England* divided into many kingdoms, as into the kingdom of *Kent*, of *Northumberland*, &c. So the three sons of *Brutus*, as *Camber*, *Loctrinus*, and *Albanactus* divided the whole kingdom betwixt them after their fathers death. And this division continued in

De Hailan.
Nic Gyles.
Froissart.
Munsterus.
Functius.

Polid. Virg.
Holinshead.

France;

Terapha
Guicciard.

France, in *England*, and in the *Empire*, until their mortal wars, or friendly marriages, voluntary agreement, or forceable violence, greedy ambition, or fatal destiny reduced them unto one Monarchy. The Union of the twelve Kingdoms of *Spain* fell out in *Ferdinando* his time, who being king of *Aragon*, matched with *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, as heir unto her Brother *Henry*, and in her right, held himself, and after his decease transferred unto his Daughter *Foan*, begotten upon her body, all the Kingdoms of *Spain*; which Daughter married with *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, who begate upon her body *Charls* the fifth, who was Emperour, and unto him succeeded *Philip* which now reigneth. And thus he came by the States within his own Country.

The States without the limits of *Spain*, some of them are Kingdoms, as of *Naples*, of *Navarra*, of both *Sicilies*, and of *Portugal*, together with the many Kingdoms of both the *East* and the *West Indies*; some Earldoms and Dukedoms, as of *Milan*, *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, of *Burgundy*, and briefly of the seventeen United Provinces: How he came by all these, it will be more tedious then wondrous to declare.

That the
Kingdom
of *Naples*
hath been
fatal to
many Na-
tions.

The Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* have been the butchery of most Nations of *Europe*; For the Popes challenging to be Sovereign Lords thereof, and by vertue of that Title, to have full power and authority to dispose the same at their pleasure, according to the variety of their humours, their affections, their quarrels, and their factions, they have sometimes bestowed them upon Frenchmen, other times upon Italians, sometimes upon Germans, other times upon Swetians, sometimes upon Spaniards, other times upon Hungarians, and once upon the Englishmen. So that all these Nations, either for the conquest, or for the defence thereof, have lost their blood, hazarded their lives, and spent infinite treasure; which is shortly proved by these examples following.

Nic. Gyles.
Du Haillan
Functius.
D. Illefcas

In the year 1381. Pope *Clement* crowned in *Avignon*, *Charls* Prince of *Tarento*, King of *Sicily*, who had married the sister of *Foan* Queen of *Sicily*, and of *Ferusalem*; the which *Foan* for default of heirs, adopted for her son and heir, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and made him king of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Ferusalem*, and Duke of *Cambria*, and Earl of *Provence*. This gift and adoption was ratified by the Pope, and furthered by the Frenchmen for these respects. *Clement* the pope having a Corival named *Urban*, who was favoured by the king of *Castile*, and of *Hungary*, thought it convenient and necessary for him, to procure the help and assistance, of the Frenchmen for the better maintenance of his cause (as divers of his Predecessors had done before him) and therefore with his gift and donation so wrought and won unto him the said *Lewis*, who was then Regent of *France*, that although the Kings above-mentioned had sent their Ambassadors unto the French king to entreat his favour and furtherance for Pope *Urban*, they could not prevail with him, because the said *Lewis*, who governed the king, and all the Realm, was wholly for *Clement*; insomuch that through his favour *Clement's* Cardinals had all the best Benefices, and Ecclesiastical promotions of *France*, without any respect being had to their lives, to their learning, to their qualities, or to their Religion. The Frenchmen aided the said *Lewis* in this quarrel, and in his Wars for the obtaining of these Kingdoms, most willingly; because they were desirous to send him far from home, who wearied them at home daylie with new Taxes, and unaccustomed grievances.

Pope

Pope *Urbanus*, on the contrary side to gratifie his friends, and to be assured of their help, gave these Kingdoms unto *Charles*, Nephew of the King of *Hungary*, who willingly accepted the same, as well for the benefit thereby likely to arise, as for to revenge the death of his Brother, cruelly and unjustly murdered by the said *Joan* his Wife; Wherein he had so good success, as that he took the said *Joan* Prisoner, and caused her to be put to death: Here you see Frenchmen and Hungarians at mortal Wars for this Kingdom. And before these later Contentions, you shall understand that the above mentioned *Joan* being weary of her Husband *Lewis*, and having divers ways so wronged him, that he lived many years in durance; Adopted for her Heir *Alonso* King of *Aragon*, who drove *Lewis* out of his Kingdom; Here you see Frenchmen and Spaniards at deadly feud for these Kingdoms.

Conradin, Duke of *Suavia*, and Son to *Conrad* the Emperour, being disposed and purposed to retire himself, after the death of his Father, into his Kingdom of *Naples*, obtained great help of divers German Princes, and especially of *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, his very neer and dear Kinsman; but being encountered by *Charles*, brother of the King of *France*, and betrayed unto him by Pope *Clement* the fourth, both he and the aforesaid *Frederick* were taken Prisoners, and by the advice of the Pope, not long after beheaded: So came the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Suavian*, unto the Frenchman; and the Dukedom of *Suavia* ended, and was utterly extinct by the Treason and wickedness of Pope *Clement*.

What Contentions have been betwixt divers Families of *Italy*, and divers Houses of *Naples* it self for those Kingdoms, the Chronicles of *Italy* report; And I hasten from this Nation to our own Country, because it may seem somewhat strange we had ever to do so far from home; and what quarrel, pretence, or title we could lay to a Kingdom so remote and far distant from *England*.

By that which hath been said you may easily perceive that the Popes have used these Kingdoms, and their pretensive right unto them, for the only means and instruments to furnish themselves with friends in time of need and necessity: And when they began to be weary upon any occasion, of the present King of *Naples*, they incontinently set upon another; displaced their enemy, and called such a Prince as best pleased them, or the time or the opportunity made fittest to hearken to their persuasions, and to persecute their Adversaries, into *Italy*; and there continued and cherished him for a time, until they likewise grew weary of him, or he could no longer stand them in stead.

This is verified by many Armies that have been especially brought out of *France*, and by sundry Kings and Princes of that Country, who spent their time, travel, and treasure, in those Wars: But there is not one Example that confirmeth the same more apparently then that which our Histories report of *Henry* the third, King of *England*.

This King by reason he had Reigned many years, saw sundry alterations in divers Kingdoms; and (as Princes who continue long are oftentimes sought unto) he was honoured of all the Kings and Potentates that lived in his time; and many of them were glad of his amity and friendship; for as he was mighty, so was he very wise, and therefore able to help them with his strength, and counsel them with his wisdom; yet neither so strong, nor so wise, but that his power was abated, and his wisdom

Piero Moc-
xias vida
de Wence-
lao D. Ille-
cas vida de
urbano 8.

Functius
lib. 10.
Caxton.
Du Haillan

Math. Paris

dom abused by the Popes subtle policies. There was a time when *Conradus* king of *Sicily*, began to be somewhat grievous and offensive to the Pope, who to be revenged of his supposed wrongs, had suborned divers Princes against him; and when all had either failed him, or faintly proceeded in their quarrel against *Conrade*, he fled for his last refuge unto the said *Henry* the third; and to induce him to shew his readines and good will to drive *Conrade* out of his Royal Seat and Dominion, he used divers sinister means, and many subtle devices.

First he defamed the said *Conrade*, accused him of Heresie, layed murder to his charge, burthened him with the death and poysoning of his own Brother, thereby making him odious to the world. Then not thinking it sufficient to disgrace and discredit him (for that the Princes neither then, nor in those days did easily undertake Wars one against another in hatred of the vices which possessed them, but in hope of the Kingdoms which they enjoyed) he, to encourage our King the more, gave him the Kingdoms of *Apulia* and *Sicily*, and entituled his Son by the name of king of both those Countries; And understanding that he wanted sufficient men to imploy in that service, he dispensed him to take those Souldiers which had enrolled themselves for the Wars of the Holy Land; and publishing that his Adversary for grief was dead, and forsaken by his friends, With these devices, and his Embassadors subtleties, he induced our King to bind himself, upon pain of loss of his Kingdom, to spend and send 140^m Marks to those Wars; and this promise was so readily performed, and men by our King so willingly transferred for that service, that the whole Realm in vety short time felt great want, both of men, and of money.

Thus you see that *Naples* and *Sicily* have been both troublesome and chargeable to as many Nations as I before named; And yet you see not how they came directly unto the house of *Spain*, nor with what Right and Title king *Philip* possesseth them at this day.

To the end therefore that herein as well as in other Points, you may be fully satisfied, I will let you understand the late claims and challenges layed and made to those Kingdoms.

Charls the eighth, king of *France*, challenged the Kingdom of *Naples*, because *Renatus*, Duke of *Anjou*, his very near Kinsman, dying without children, and being made Heir of the same kingdom by the last Will and Testament of *Foan*, Queen of *Naples*, had made and declared in his last Will and Testament, *Lewis* the eleventh for his Heir unto the same kingdom, which *Lewis* was Father unto the said *Charls*; who followed the Claim with such speed and expedition, that he got the kingdom by force of Arms, in so short a time, that a notable Historiographer writing thereof saith, That an Embassadour would almost have spent as much time in going thither from *France*, as the said *Charls* did imploy in conquering thereof.

The Frenchmen enjoyed not their Conquest many years; for *Ferdinando*, king of *Spain* began to lay claim unto the kingdom of *Naples*, because that although *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* had bestowed the same kingdom upon *Ferdinando* his base Son; yet both *John* his Brother, and Successor in the kingdom of *Naples*; and also *Ferdinando* himself being Son unto the said *John* had just cause of claim and title therunto; because that *Alphonso* having gotten the same both with the Forces and with the

Paul Jovius. lib. 2.
Guicciardine.
D. Illescas
vida de Fa-
genio.

Phil. de
Comines.

Guicciard.
lib. 5.

the

the treasure of the Realm of *Aragon*, it should of right belong unto that Crown.

This claim of *Ferdinandus* was furthered by Pope *Fulio* the second, who either being wearied of the insolency of the Frenchmen, or desirous to follow the steps of his inconstant Predecessors, or rather willing to revenge the wrong offered unto his Predecessor by *Charls* the eighth, what time he imprisoned him in the Castle of *S. Angelo*, and enforced him to give him for his ranfome or deliverance the Castles of *Civita Vecchia*, of *Ferracina*, and of *Spoletto*, to hold them until he had made full conquest of *Naples*, and also constrained him to invest himself in the said Kingdom, besought *Ferdinando* king of *Aragon*, to undertake the defence of the Church, and of the States and Dominions thereof, against all those who persecuted the same, and especially against *Lewis* the 11. of *France*; and to make him the more willing and ready to accomplish this his desire, he sent him the Investure and Gift of the same kingdom, with a very small and reasonable yearly Tribute for the same. *Ferdinando* thinking his Title the better by the Popes Grant, and his possibility to prevail the greater, because of his assured help and furtherance, prosecuted his claim by open Wars upon the Frenchmen; wherein he had so good success, that he drew the French King to make a friendly division of the kingdom between them. This composition (as all agreements betwixt Princes most commonly are) was kept inviolable, until *Gonsalvo*, General for the *Aragonian* king in those parts (who was afterwards for his Excellency called the Great Captain, as *Pompey* was amongst the Romans) took these occasions following to dispossess and drive the Frenchmen out of all that they possessed within the Realm of *Naples*. First he alledged that the division was not equally made, because the *Dogana* of *Puglia* (which indeed was the best and greatest Revenue of that Crown) was wholly allotted unto the Frenchmen, and neither any part thereof, nor any thing else that might countervail the same in worth, value, and goodness, was assigned unto the Spaniards.

Guicciard.
lib. 1.

D. Illecas
vida de Jur-
lio 2.

Secondly, there fell such a disease amongst the Frenchmen, by reason of the abundance of fruit which they eat daylie, and because the waters which they drank (as it was thought) were poisoned by the Spaniards, that most part, as well of the private souldiers, as of the chief Captains, died thereof and many for fear thereof departed from the French kings Camp.

Guicciard.
D. Illecas
vida de
Clemente
7.

Thirdly, that poor and small remainder that was left, presuming that this composition should be held inviolable, grew so negligent and careless, that they suffered the Spaniards to do all that they would, and never distrusted them, until it was too late.

Lastly, *Gonsalvo* being required to desist from Wars because there was a peace concluded betwixt the Spanish and French kings, in regard whereof the French General had long before surceased all acts of hostility; answered, That he could not leave off his wars, because he knew not what authority *Don Philip* (who was the Mediator of that Peace, and should have had the French Kings daughter for wife to his son *Charls*) had from the King and Queen of *Spain* to conclude the said Peace: And the said King and Queen hearing of the good success which their General had daily against the Frenchmen, permitted him to proceed as he began, and disclaimed all that was agreed, or yielded unto by the said *Don Philip*, saying that he had no power or authority from them to make any such agreement. But *Don Philip* seeing his credit thereby called in question, pub-

lished

How the
Spanish
King came
by Naples.

Guicciard.
lib. 5. 6. & 9.
Sleidon lib.
16.

How the
Spanish
King came
by the king-
dom of Na-
varra.

Guicciard.

lished to all the world that he had done nothing more in the concluding the said peace, then the King and Queen had given him full commission to do; and further before he departed out of *Spain*, he saw them both swear upon the holy Evangelists, and upon the Image of Christ crucified, that they would confirm, ratifie, and observe, whatsoever should be concluded by him. Thus *Naples* was gotten deceitfully, although *Francis* the first after that he was unhappily taken Prisoner at *Pavia* by *Charles* the fifth, did voluntarily renounce all his Right, Title, and Interest unto the same kingdom for the ransom and deliverance of his two Sons, who were Prisoners along time in *Spain*, as pledges for their Father.

From *Naples* and *Sicily*, I hasten to the kingdom of *Navarra*, gotten by the *Spaniards* Predecessors, and held as unlawfully by him, as the two other kingdomes; for when as *Ferdinando*, so often before mentioned, had occasion to pass with an Army through the kingdom of *Navarra* to succour the Pope, he demanded safe passage of the King thereof; who being so commanded by *Lewis* the French king his Sovereign, denied him passage: *Ferdinando* certifying the Pope of his denial, the Pope excommunicated the King, and depriveth him as a Schismaticque of his kingdom; *Ferdinando* hereupon having his Army in a readines, invadeth the kingdom, taketh the King unprovided, and before he could have any help from the French king, depriveth him of his Royal Seat and Dignity, and his Heirs have held the same ever since by no better Title then this. Of which give me leave in a few words to tell you my simple opinion, and then I will come to the kingdom of *Portugal*. As it is most certain that the Kings of *Naples* and of *Scotland* hold their kingdomes the one of the Pope of *Rome*, the other of the Queen of *England* as of their Sovereigns; so it is undoubtedly true, that the Kings of *Navarra* owe homage, faith, fealty, and obedience unto the king of *France*, as unto their Lord and Sovereign, for their kingdom; in regard whereof they are bound to many conditions of services unto him as their Sovereign, and especially to aid and assist him in his just quarrels, wars and contentions against any other Prince whatsoever, and never to leave him, upon pain of forfeiture of their States and Dominions holden of him; which is so true, that many Doctors of Law writing upon this case, make this question, whether a Vassal (such as the king of *Navarra* was in respect of the French king) leaving his Lord and Sovereign sorely hurt in the field, and forsaking him in that case, doth forfeit his Estate or no? And they all generally conclude, that if his wounds be not mortal, and such as they leave no small hope of life, then the Vassal for forsaking him loseth his Estate, be it never so great. But I will not stand upon the proof of this point, nor upon the justifying of the king of *Navarra* his denial made unto the *Aragonian* king by Commandment of his said Lord and Sovereign; for I shall have occasion to enlarge hereof in another place, whereunto when I come, you shall see it sufficiently and plainly proved, that the king of *Navarra* could not without manifest loss and forfeiture of his kingdom unto the French king, deny or resist his Commandment.

This then being most manifest, it must needs follow, that the king of *Aragon* did most wrongfully invade and take from him his kingdom; and so consequently the king of *Spain* withholdeth the same from the present king of *Navarra*, with no better right or reason then he that detaineth a private mans lands, who never having any just title thereunto, justifieth

fieth his Tenure by no other reason but by a few years wrongful possession; which giveth no just title, especially if the same hath been continually claimed and demanded by the lawful owners thereof, as without all doubt the kingdom of *Navar* hath been; for the present king and his Predecessors did oftentimes require restitution thereof of them which did wrongfully detain it; And had not the civil wars of *France* hindred the present king from demanding the same by force of Arms, he had long before this time warred upon the now king of *Spain*, for the recovery thereof. Now to the Kingdom of *Portugal*. This kingdom as *Scotland* and *Navarra* are members of the kingdom of *England* and *France*, so it is a member of the kingdom of *Spain*; for *Alphonfus* the sixth, king of *Spain*, had a base Daughter nam'd *Taresia*, whom he married unto *Henry* Count of *Lotharinga*, and gave him in Dower with her the Kingdom of *Portugal*, because he had done him very great service against the Moors: But his Son *Alphonfus* the first, was the first that was named King of *Portugal*, and the first that got the City of *Lisbone* from the said Moors; and having overcome in one Battel five of their Kings, he left five Shields for Arms unto his Posterity. This kingdom hath had many alterations, and sundry Wars, moved by such as layed claim thereunto; but none considering the small continuance thereof, more lamentable then the late Wars betwixt the now king of *Spain*, and him whom the Spaniards call *Don Antonio*, and no lawful king of *Portugal*; for besides that the chief of the Nobility of that Realm were either cruelly murdered in the said War, or unkindly held in extreme thraldom or servitude by the Spaniard, their natural and professed enemy; the rightful King was most wrongfully driven from his lawful Inheritance, to live as you know, in a strange Country with the Princely, and yet slender releif that her Majesty of her Royal liberality and clemency vouchsafeth him and his poor Train. The Spaniard for the better obtaining of his Kingdom, imitated in some measure, the policy of *Charls* the fifth his Father, who during the competency betwixt him and *Francis* the first, king of *France* for the Empire; brought an Army of men unto the place where the Electors were assembled to make choice of the Emperour; pretending the cause of bringing his Army thither, to be his just and Princely desire to free the Electors from all manner of fear, which they might justly have of some violence to be offered them by the French king, if they made not choice of him; Whereas in very deed his Forces tended to no other purpose then to chuse him: But the king of *Spain*'s device was not in all respects so cleanly, as you shall hear by the sequel: But you must first understand how many Competetors there were for this one Crown, and what right every one of them had thereunto.

Emanuel king of *Portugal* married first *Isabel*, Daughter to *Ferdinando*, king of *Castile*, by whom he had but one male child, which died in his infancy: Then he took to Wife *Mary* the second, Daughter of the said *Ferdinand*, by whom he had nine children; *John* who had issue *John* the third, and he *Sebastian* which was lately slain, not leaving any issue behind him, *Lodowick*, who was lately secretly married, and had issue this *Don Antonio*, who now liveth in *England*. The third child was *Ferdinando*, who married a daughter of the Earl of *Marialva*, by whom he had two Sons, who dyed before their Father. The fourth was *Alphonfus*, who was made Cardinal, and departed the world not having any child. The fifth was *Henry*, who was likewise a Cardinal, and king after *Don*

Terapha
de Regibus
Hisp.

The Spaniards
title to the Kingdom
of Portugal.

Slidens
Commentaries.

Don Antonio his
Apology.

Sebastian, and died also without issue. The sixth was *Edward*, who married *Theodosia* Dutcheſs of *Burgantia*, by whom he had three children, that is to ſay, *Mary*, who married *Alexander*, Prince of *Parma*, *Katharine*, who took to husband the Duke of *Burgantia*, and *Edward* who died unmarried. The ſeventh was *Anthony*, who died in his infancy. The eighth child was *Iſabel*, who was married to *Charles* the Emperour, and had iſſue by him the preſent king of *Spain*. The laſt was *Beatrice*, wife to the Duke of *Savoy*.

Theſe were the iſſue, now follow the Competitors; they were five. *Don Antonio*, lawful ſon, (as he proved) unto *Lodowick* the ſecond heir male of *Emanuel*, The Prince of *Parma* as Tutor unto his ſon, begotten upon the eldeſt daughter of *Edward*, the ſixth heir male. The Duke of *Bergantia*, begotten on the body of *Katharine*, the ſecond daughter of the ſaid *Edward*. King *Philip* begotten of the body of *Iſabel*, eldeſt daughter unto *Emanuel*. And the Duke of *Savoy*, the lawful heir of the youngſt daughter of the ſaid *Emanuel*.

Now of all theſe competitors, to deliver you firſt my opinion, I take it (alwaies *ſalvumeliori iudicio*) that none of them all could lawfully claim the Crown of *Portugal*: For as many as hold the marriage of *Henry* the eighth king of *England*, with the Lady *Katharine* unlawful, becauſe ſhe was married unto his eldeſt brother *Arthur*, muſt needs hold the marriage of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* far more unlawful, becauſe both king *Henry* and he married unlawfully: For if two brethren cannot ſucceſſively marry one woman, truly two ſiſters cannot be married unto one man: And the reaſon which ſome uſe to juſtifie king *Henry* his marriage, cannot ſerve for the juſtification of king *Emanuel*'s matrimony; for all that was ſaid in the defence of the Lady *Katharine*, was, that her husband never knew her carnally; which cannot be truly ſaid for king *Emanuel*, becauſe he had a ſon by his firſt wife: wherefore if all theſe nine children being begotten in unlawful wedlock cannot poſſibly be reputed legitimate, and therefore are not lawful heirs to their reputed fathers, much leſs can any of they who deſcend from any of theſe nine children be eſteemed lawful heirs to the Crown of *Portugal*. But grant them to be lawful, and then to each of their Titles in order. *Don Antonio* hath ſufficiently juſtified his Title in his Apologie, by many reaſons, which I reduce to theſe three principally.

Fiſt he proveth his Fathers marriage, though it were with his ſon inferior, to be lawful, notwithstanding the diſparagement, in regard of which it was concealed. Then he fortiſieth his Title by the cuſtome of the people of *Portugal*, who by ancient priviledge challenge a right, in caſe of controverſie for the Crown, to make choice of ſuch an one of the competitors as they ſhall have a ſpecial liking and love unto. Laſtly, he either ſheweth, or might ſhew, that Baſtards have ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Portugal*; and that therefore although Baſtardy had been fully proved againſt him, yet being choſen by the common conſent of the people, it was no ſufficient bar, or lawful exception, to ſay that he was a Baſtard, eſpecially being made by ſuch an one as came from a Baſtard himſelf, and holdeth his own Kingdom by right derived from a Baſtard, as doth the preſent king of *Spain*: For the Chronicles of *Spain* report, that *Henry* baſtard brother unto *Peter* king of *Spain*, taking advantage of the evil opinion which was conceived of his brother, (by reaſon of his looſe and diſſolute life) by the help of the French King, notwithstanding that *Edward* the
third

third aided the said *Peter*, and once restored him to his Crown, drave him the second time from the same; and having slain him in the Field, usurped his Royal dignity, and transferred it unto his heirs, of which king *Philip* is lineally descended: For there was a time when as *John* Prince of *Castile*, and son to *Henry* of *Castile*, challenged the Kingdom of *Portugal*, because he had married *Beatrice* the only daughter and heir of *Ferdinando* late king of *Portugal*; but the people would not accept him for their king; because they naturally hated the *Castilians*, and therefore they chose a bastard for their king, named *Denis*, saying; That it was as lawful for them to chuse the said bastard for their king, as it was for the *Castilians* to admit *Henry* the bastard for their king, who had (as is above said) deprived most unlawfully and unnaturally the lawful king of his life and Scepter. Now from *Don Antonio*, unto the rest in general, who because they all claim by right of their mothers, are all excluded by an inviolable law of *Portugal*, alledged against the aforesaid *John* Prince of *Castile*, in the behalf of the aforementioned bastard *Denis*, whereby it is provided, That no woman shall enjoy the Crown of *Portugal*: For whereas there is a Law that no woman shall succeed; the same Law (as it appeareth by the Law *Salique* alledged against us in the time of King *Edward* the third) excludeth also the males descending from the woman. And so these four Competitors claim is utterly void, and of none effect. And in case where women may succeed, the Females descending from an heir male, are to be preferred before such as come only and directly from the female: And so the Prince of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Bergantia* descending from the daughters of Prince *Edm.* and they in law succeeding their Father, as the same person and his undoubted heirs, are not only to be preferred before the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who came of the daughters of the before-named *Emanuel*, but also before their Aunts, the said King *Philips*, and Duke of *Savoy*'s mothers, because in matter of Succession, the elder brothers children are always preferred before the Uncles or Aunts. Those Titles, and the means how the Kings of *Spain* prevailed before the rest of his Competitors, are largely set down in *Don Antonio*'s Apologie, unto which I refer you, Although there be (at the least) twenty points therein of no small moment, which (in my opinion) are not sufficiently cleared, nor substantially handled, yet therein you shall easily perceive how king *Philip* in getting the same kingdom, imitated (as I said before) his father. I must likewise refer you to the history of *Hernan Logeres*, touching the discovery and conquest of the *Indies*; for it were too long for me to tell you what small forces went thither out of *Spain* first; and how the Leaders of those slender Armies taking advantage of the divisions which they found betwixt the kings of those Countries, did easily overthrow some with the help of the other. There you shall see how a number of naked men fly like sheep before a few armed souldiers; there you shall read, that even amongst those barbarous people and princes, there wanted neither deceit nor policy; there you shall find, that the Spaniards being far from their Country, and not many, amongst an infinite number of mortal enemies, strived and contended amongst themselves for superiority, which argueth an unsatiable desire of rule and government, and their natural proneness to mutiny; although they challenge an especial praise above all other Nations for their obedience to their Superiours: there you shall see the fruits of division, the effects of tyrannie, the force of terror and fear, and the

DoHaillen.
lib. 6.
Froissart
vol. 3. c. 25.

D. Anton.
his Apol.

The Span-
nish King's
right to the
Indies.

vertue

vertue of good and expert souldiers fighting against rude and ignorant multitudes: there you shall observe, in some of these unchristian Princes, more loyalty, friendship, constancy, and perseverance in their honest and lawful enterprises, then hath lately been found in many Christian Princes: there (briefly) you shall find enough to satisfie you, how the Spaniards came to the possession of the *Indies*; if withal it may please you to understand, that Pope *Alexander* the sixth being a Spaniard, and chosen Arbitrator betwixt the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, at what time they were at variance for and touching the division of the *Indies*; the said Pope shewed himself too too partial unto the Spaniard, and gave him much more then the *Portugal* thought that in reason and conscience should have been allotted unto him.

Now from the *Indies*, and the aforementioned Kingdoms, unto the Earldoms and Dukedoms; And first to the Duchy of *Milan*; a State which hath suffered many alterations, of which I may not speak without digressing too much from my purpose; and because I hasten unto many other points, whereof I intend by Gods grace to discourse at large, I may not be over-long in this point.

The Spanish Kings side to the Dukedom of *Milan*.

Guicciard. lib. 14.

The Duchy of *Millan* was anciently a member of the Empire, and none was held lawful Lord or Duke thereof, which had not received his investure and approbation from the Emperour. It would be both long and tedious to relate unto you the many competencies for this Dukedom, the sundry Pretendants thereunto, and the mighty Partakers of these competitors; whereof leaving ancient quarrels aside, and not troubling you with the Titles of the Viscounts, with the pretensions of the *Sforzas*; nor with the claims of the Predecessors of *Francis* the first king of *France*, and of *Charles* the fifth Emperour; I will only tell you that the former challenged the same Dukedom in right of the Lady *Valentine*, wife unto the Duke of *Orleanes*; and the later pretend right thereunto, because the contract of Marriage betwixt *Valentine* and the said Duke was not confirmed by the Authority of the Emperour, because the Emperour had never granted unto the before-named Duke the Investure of the said Dukedom: These reasons indeed are sufficient in Law to deprive a Vassal of his Seigniorie, if by voluntary negligence, or wilful obstinacy, he refuse to do homage, or to demand the Investure of his hold and Tenure of the Lord and Sovereign. But there are many occasions which may excuse this demand, upon which I shall not need to stand, because they are not pertinent to this purpose, which is only to shew you whether the Spanish King came rightly or unrightly unto the Dukedom of *Millan*.

The which difficulty may be cleared in this manner: Let the Spaniard shew that his Fathers Allegation was lawful, then shall it follow that his War for the same, with the French King, was also most lawful; And so consequently his getting the same by force of Arms likewise lawful: Let him shew that it was gotten with the Forces and Expences of the Empire; then it shall follow that it belonged unto the Empire: Let him shew that his Father, having purchased his Dukedom in right of the Empire, and at the costs, and with the help of the Souldiers and Captains thereof, had full Authority to alienate the same, and to bestow it upon him his lawful Son, and that he so did; then shall it follow that he is true owner thereof: But I fear me it will be very hard and difficult for him to shew all these particulars; and therefore I dare not deliver it for any sound opinion, that he hath

hath right thereunto, unless he shall plead the Renunciation, and Resignation made thereof by the said *Francis*, at what time the Treaty of Peace was concluded betwixt his Father, and he the said *Francis*, at *Cambray*; At which time the said *Francis* for himself and his heirs, renounced, demised, released, and resigned into the hands and possession of the said *Charls*, and of his Heirs, all Rights, Titles, and Interests which he or they had or might have unto the Dukedom of *Millan*. From which Dukedom will now come to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and to all the Earldoms, and other members implicatively contained therein, and lawfully invested in the Duke thereof. For *Charls* last Duke of *Burgundy* (who was unfortunately slain by the *Switzers*) was Earl of *Flanders*, and of *Holland*, Duke of *Brabant*, and Lord of all the united Provinces; by reason whereof, and of those laudible qualities which he possessed, he thought himself inferiour to no Prince living in his time, and never had been overthrown as he was, had he not dwelt too much in his opinion, had he not presumed too much of his own strength, had he not thought too basely of his enemies, and had he not made so slight account as he did of the French Kings subtle and secret practises against him; which indeed were so politique, so wise, and so secret, that a French Historiographer writeth, That the French King still sitting in his Chair at home, and suffering the Duke to follow his own humours, and suborning and procuring him daily new Adversaries, did him far more much harm, then they who did openly and directly bear Arms against him.

Vie de
Francois
pe Guicci-
audin.

The Span-
nish Kings
Title to
the Duke-
dom of
Burgundy.
De Com.

De Com.

This Duke being slain (as is above-said) in an unfortunate time for the house of *Burgundy*, and for a very small occasion (for the Wars wherein he was slain were but for a Cart loaden with sheep-skins) left issue but one Daughter, whom *Maximilian* the Emperour married, and had by her issue *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, who begat *Charls* the Emperour, and *Charls* (as it hath often been said) this present King of *Spain*. Besides *Francis* the first (who before that time was (as all his predecessors before him had been) Soveragin of all those Estates and Countries) did as well at *Madrid* in *Spain*, whilst he was Prisoner there for his own Ransome; as at *Cambray*, after he was set at liberty; for the deliverance of his two Children, renounce all his Rights and Interests to the Sovereignty of all these Countries. Thus came the Spaniard by all that he hath.

Now shall you see how he hath hitherto conserved all this his own possession, notwithstanding the reasonable pretences which many either do or may make to divers of his Dominions.

How the
Spanish
King re-
taineth all
those States
which he
now pos-
sesseth.

First, as amongst private men, whosoever attaineth unto great wealth, is revered amongst his neighbours, honoured by his friends, feared by his adversaries, and so sought unto by all men, that many indeavour to please him, few or none dare to contend with him; even so amongst Princes, he that exceedeth the rest in might, in wealth, in reputation, carrieth such credit with the rest, beareth such sway wheresoever he cometh, winneth such favour in all that he attempteth, and striketh such terror in the hearts of them who have occasion to quarrel with him, that they had rather sit down losers, then rise up in Arms against him; they suspect his secret attempts, stand in awe of his exceeding power, doubt the aspiring projects of his ambitious mind, and are presently terrified when they enter into consideration of his strength, of his treasure, of his friends and confederates; provoke him think they, and you heap burning coles upon
your

Titus Liv:
Corn. Tac.
Polibius.

your own heads; anger him, and you awake a shrewd sleeping Dog; offend him, and you displease his friends; contend with him, and you strive against the stream; and therefore they hold it for extream folly to incur his displeasure, and for singular wisdom to continue in his favour. When the Romans were in the highest degree of their prosperity; What Prince was so mighty that feared not their power? What Commonwealth so rich that stood not in fear and awe of their huge Armies? What commanded they that was not obeyed? Or whither went they, where they were not received? Was there any Nation so far from them which heard not of their might and magnificence? Was there any Region (were it never so remote) that heard not of their strength and puissance; that trembled not at the very name and mention thereof? Came not Kings voluntarily to Rome from the furthest confines of the world to seek their friendship? Sent not the Princes of *Asia*, the Monarchs of *Affrica*, and all the Kings of *Europe*, their Embassadours, to crave their Favour and Alliance? What Prince presumed so much of his own force, that if he were wise, held himself not greatly honoured if he were so happy as to be one of the number of their Alliance? and if he were unwise, or over-hardy and bold, that found not himself deceived, yea utterly overthrown, if at any time he presumed to contend with them? Lived not *Carthage* in wealth and honour until she took stomach and heart at grais against Rome? Mighty *Pyrrhus*, wise *Mithridates*, deceitful *Hannibal*, puissant *Massinissa*, with a number of others of like renown, ruled they not in peace, and Raigned in security, until they began to conjure and combine themselves against the Romans? And then failed not their power? perished not their Authority? decayed not their Reputation? and went not all they had to wrack and ruin? It is therefore undoubtedly true, that this prejudicate opinion of the Spanish Kings Might and Power, hath been one especial means to preserve and keep his many Dominions; for although his might is in many degrees inferiour to the Romans Power; yet as they, because they possessed most part of the world, were redoubted and revered of all Nations in the world; so he possessing more then any Prince of Christendom, must needs be had in honour and reverence through the greatest part of Christendom.

Appianus.
Alexand.

Besides, as they, in all places of Conquest had their power and forces to hold them in continual awe and obedience; As in *Germany* eight Legions, every Legion consisting of 6100. Souldiers, and 726. Horse-men; In *Spain* three Legions; In *Affrica* two; In *Serua* and *Bulgaria* two more; and in *Salaminia* other two; and about Rome in the Cities of *Italy*, twelve sundry Bands, whereof every one of nine of them, consisted of 1105. Foot-men, and 66. on Horseback; So that they had always in continual pay, twenty five Legions, which amounted in all to 165755. Foot-men, and unto 19734. Horse-men at the least, besides the help and succour of their friends and Confederates; And these Forces they kept as well in the time of peace as war, for the more safety and security of their Estates and Dominions: In the like manner the King of *Spain* hath certain men always in pay in the Dutchy of *Millan*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Country of *Burgundy*, in the Low-Countries, in the Realm of *Portugal*, and in other places of his Dominions, for the better security of the same; and those Men lye in continual Garrison, as well when he hath Peace as when he is at Wars. Moreover, as the Romans destroyed the

the Cities of *Alba*, of *Numantia*, and of *Carthage*, because as long as they stood, they were always rebelling against them; So the Catholique King hath either forceably subverted, or voluntarily impoverished many Cities within his several Dominions, only to disable them to make head against him: And this policy of impoverishing Rebellious Cities, and their richest Inhabitants, is too too general and usual in *Italy*; where it is held a point of wisdom, and a strengthening, or rather a sure way to uphold and continue their Estate, to hold down and depress their most noble and wealthy Subjects, for fear that lest over great riches embolden them to enter into conspiracy against their Rulers, or to seek some means to set themselves and their Cities at liberty.

Again, as the *Romans* never entred into League or Amity with any Prince or Nation who did not wholly submit himself, and it self unto their discretion; So the *Spaniard* never receiveth any King or Potentate for his Ally and Confederate, unless he can and will be content to be wholly at his devotion. *Plutarch* in his book of the lives of the noble *Romans* and *Gracians*, writeth that *Eumenes* understanding that divers *Satrapes* sought all occasions and means to kill him, to stop and prevent their malice against him, feigned that he had great need of a great sum of money, which he borrowed of them which hated him most, to the end that they might give over the seeking of his death, whereby they were assured to lose all their money: In like sort, both the King of *Spain*, and his Father before him, doubting that *Genoa*, a very rich, mighty, and populous city in *Italy*, might be either induced by the perswasion of other Princes in *Italy* (who desire nothing more then to see a King of *Naples* and a Duke of *Millan* born within *Italy* it self as there was wont to be) or by the counsel of such Citizens as were wont to favour the French faction, to fall from him to the French, and especially for the great Traffique which they have at *Lyons*, *Paris*, and other places of *France* (which only respect hath moved the *Florentines* to be far more friendly and better affected unto the French King then unto him) did and doth borrow as much money as he could or can possibly get into his hands, of the best and richest Gentlemen and Merchants of that city, to the end that fear of losing their money may always retain them in love and friendship towards him.

Tit. Livius

Plut. in the life of Eumenes.

Plut. in the life of Theseus.

Idem in the life of Romulus.

It is written by the said Author, that *Theseus*, to people and augment the city of *Athens*, invited as many as would to come and dwell there, promising and assuring them to enjoy the self-same Liberties, Priviledges, and Immunities, which the very Citizens themselves had. In like manner the *Spaniard* to enrich his city of *Amsterdamp*, and other cities of the Low Countries, by the Access and Traffique of our Nation with them, and to draw us thither for that purpose more willingly, freed us from divers Imposts, which his own natural Subjects usually paid. Again the same Author reporteth, that *Romulus* after he had builded *Rome*, and subdued the *Sabines*, and taken their City, he commanded them to throw down their own houses, and to go to dwell with him at *Rome*, where they should have the same Liberties and Priviledges, which his own Citizens had. And there was nothing that more increased *Rome*, then this joyning and incorporating with her own Inhabitants those which she conquered: In imitation hereof, the *Spaniard* when he had subdued the *Indies*, transported as many *Spaniards* as he could possibly thither, giving them

Holinshed.
Polid. Virg.

great priviledges after they had inhabited there certain years : And in many mens opinions, there is nothing that doth more retain that barbarous people in obedience unto him, then the fear of those natural Spaniards, nor any thing that more enricheth his natural Subjects ; we go thither very poor, and return thence infinitely rich : And in my simple conceit, the sending of those Colonies (as I may call them) into the *Indies*, is the best and surest means that the Spaniard doth and can use for the peaceable maintenance of those Estates : For albeit they tyrannize there far beyond the nature of humane creatures, as well in respect of them that inflict, as of those which endure afflictions and torments in those countries, yet because (as our Chronicles do testifie) that (as *William the Conquerour* did after he had conquered our Nation) he hath deprived the Inhabitants of all sorts of Weapons, whereby they are made unable to undertake any hostile attempt, he liveth and ruleth in peace amongst them, and his few number of *Spaniards* are held invincible, or such as may easily withstand and prevent their secret conspiracies.

Titus Liv.

Besides, those whom he placeth as Governours, or men of any Authority amongst them, do cunningly get into their hands the chief wealth of the Country, whereby the inhabitants are greatly impoverished, and they enabled when they return, to do better service unto their Prince and Country. In consideration whereof, many desire their places as soon as (or before) they become void ; and some take the wealth purchased there, for a sufficient recompence of their many and several services done at other times, and in other places. But it may be said, that the Spaniards cruelty might long before this time have given occasion to the *Indians* to rebel : True, if they had weapons and arms wherewith to defend themselves, and offend their enemies : why necessity enforceth the old wife to trot, and putteth divers inventions into the heads of malicious and desperate men, to find out fit Instruments for the accomplishment and performing of their desires : Certainly, and past all doubt, put a few expert souldiers, and well defended Castles bid a number of uncunning and ignorant armed men. Multitudes most commonly prevail against a few, and sudden rebellions are dangerous and terrible : No man can deny this to be a manifest truth, but multitudes without an head seldom do any thing worthy their labour, or answerable to their desires, hazards, and perils : and where there is no order, no guide, no governour, there seldom or never followeth good success. The Romans after they had conquered *Capua*, willingly yeilded that the Town should be still inhabited, haunted, and frequented by all sorts of people, as it was before accustomed, but they would not in any wise permit or agree that there should be any Senate, any form of Government, any Guide, any kinde of Magistrates, any common Council, as there was wont to be ; because where these things are wanting, there it is impossible for any innovation, conspiracy, or rebellion to have good and fortunate success.

The Spaniard therefore ruling in the *Indies* by his own Nation, they being stronger then the natural inhabitants ; and the people of the Country, either for ignorance not being able, or for want of authority, not having sufficient power to govern as they would, it is easie for him to rule as he list, and very difficult for them to change, alter, or subvert the manner of his Government, although it be hateful, prejudicial, odious, and hurtful unto them. But albeit that this kind of administration and government

ment may for a small time work the like effect which a far milder sort of rule and commandment most commonly worketh; yet common experience, and the ready disposition of the *Indians* to revolt from the Spaniards, when as Sir *Francis Drake* was lately amongst them, declare, that they would willingly, if they could securely, be content to shake off the yoke of the Spanish Government. In like manner, although *Naples* and *Milan* live obediently under his regiment, and factions are not in this age as rife there as in ancient times they were wont to be; yet the people of both places being far more willing to be governed by their own Countrymen then by meer strangers, the exactions in both States exceeding by very much the old and ancient tributes, imposts, and contributions, by what name soever it shall please you to call them; and the Spaniards sparing them no more then they do the poor and simple *Indians*: It is to be supposed, that if there were a *Brutus* amongst them, who would vouchsafe to undertake the restoring of his Country and Countrymen unto their former and ancient liberty, he should not fail or quail in his enterprise, for want of a competent and sufficient number of friends and followers: For the general hatred conceived against the Spaniards, the general dislike of their Tyranical Government, the common desire of the inhabitants uttered in Table-talk, in secret conferences, in open assemblies, in private houses, and in all places where they may boldly speak without danger, argue manifestly that they lack ability, and not good will to rebel. But he provideth such Governours in both places, as are not only true and faithful unto him, but also so discreet and wise, that they both foresee and prevent all occasions of rebellion. These Governours have their eyes alwaies open and watching, not only over the Subjects committed to their charge, in holding them low, and in continual fear of severe punishment for every small offence, but also over the Princes which confine with the Governments, in keeping them from all opportunities of invading their States. These Governours are assisted by grave and wise Counsel, by whose advice they are directed in matters of great weight. These Governours are accompanied by many under-officers, who are employed in gathering such intolerable taxes as are layed upon the common people; upon which officers the fault is layed, if any offence be taken against the extremity of the taxes; and sometimes the Governour upon complaint made unto him (if no excuse can pacifie the complainants) mitigateth the rigour of the exactions, or sendeth them unto his and their king for relief and remedy; who if he shall see no other way to content them, or to continue and contain them within the bounds of their wonted obedience, yeildeth somewhat to their petition; and so laying the blame either upon the necessity of the time, or the extremity of his expences, or the severity of their officers, dischargeth himself of the fault which was imputed unto him, and sendeth the Petitioners away in some measure well pleased and satisfied. But I shall have occasion to handle this point more largely in another place, when I shall speak of such exactions as were levied in particular estates in this our age. And therefore reserving the residue of that which I have to say for that place, I will proceed in declaring unto you other means which the Spaniard useth for preservation of his Estates in peace, in quietness, and in dutiful obedience.

It is written that his Father *Charles* the fifth, fearing that *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria*, and the only remainder of *Ferdinando* late King of *Aragon*, might

Guicciard.
lib. 15.

might in time find some friends to help him or his issue (if he should so marry that he might have any) to the Crown and Kingdom of *Aragon*, married him unto *Germana*, widow unto the said *Ferdinando*, but barren, and past children; reaping of this marriage two benefits, and both of great weight and consequence: For whereas the said Duke, by refusing the Crown when it was offered him by the people, and by perswading them to accept and receive the same *Charls* for their King, had made the Emperour somewhat beholden unto him, he did not only seem in some measure to recompence that good turn, by honouring him with the marriage of a Queen, but also he assured that Kingdom unto himself and his heirs, by bestowing a barren wife upon him who was rightful heir thereunto, and by that marriage was utterly disabled to have any lawful Issue.

The Spaniard not by marriage, but by employment of the late Duke of *Parma* in such wars as were somewhat pleasing and answerable to his humour, kept him alwaies so busied, that he could never attend to the conquest of *Portugal*, which of right belonged unto his Son, rather then unto the King of *Spain*; And as the Emperour rather deprived the above-named *Ferdinando*, by giving him a barren wife, of all possibility to have any lawful issue, and so consequently of all earnest desire to recover that Kingdom, which should end in himself for want of a childe to whom it might descend; So the Spanish King deprived the said Dukes son of all hope to recover his right in *Portugal*, by procuring and counselling him to match in such a Family, as never can be able to yeild him any competent aid for the recovery of his said right.

Polid. Virg.
Hect. Boet
Holinshed.

Again it is written of *Richard* the third, and also of *Edward* the fourth, Kings of *England*, that they both fearing lest that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* who lived in exile with the Duke of *Britany*, by whom he was only sustained and succoured, might in process of time find some Friends at home, or purchase the favour of some Forraign Prince abroad, to help him to recover the Crown of *England*, whereunto he always laid claim, did seek all means possible to have the said Earl delivered unto them by the Duke, but they could never prevail, and therefore never lived secure or assured of their Estate: And *Richard* the third, according as he doubted, was deprived of his Royal Dignity by the said Earl: In like manner the Spaniard hath sought all ways possible to have *Don Antonio* delivered unto him, and hath made him divers great and fair offers of great livings and dignities if he would return into his Country, and acknowledging him for King, live under his obedience, but he could never prevail; and God knoweth to what end it hath pleased the Almighty to preserve and reserve the said *Don Antonio* from many great, and almost inevitable dangers and hazards of his life: He is not now so low, so poor, so bare, so destitute of all friends, so void of all hope, but that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* was in all degrees and measure of need and poverty equal unto him. It is an infallible rule in policy, that no Usurper hath any firm hold or strong assurance of his Estate, as long as any pretending right thereunto liveth; but the Spaniard hath sufficiently foreseen and provided for any manner of harm or detriment that may arise unto him, or unto any of his, by *Don Antonio*, or by his children: For as the loss of the Battel at *Canna*, deferred the Victories, that *Hannibal* might have had against the Romans, and his abode at *Capua* (where his Souldiers learned to be effeminate, and forgot to be right Souldiers) took away all hope to subdue the Romans

so the overthrow received by *Don Antonio*, within his own Kingdom, when he was possessed thereof, made it very difficult for him to re-gain or recover the same; And the late repulse taken at *Lisbona*, when he was before the Town with the small and weak Forces of *England*, hath put him out of all hope to attain his purpose: And yet it is held for a sure and most sound opinion by many martial men, that not with much great strength then he had then from hence, it would be an easie enterprise to recover that Kingdom; which opinion I list not to controll (for that men of my profession may not conveniently contend with Souldiers, especially in matters concerning martial affairs) And yet I fear me, that if any second enterprise should be attempted against *Portugal*, with an English Army of greater strength, of better provision, of sounder bodies, and of more convenient furniture then the last was; the Commanders of such an Army should be subject to no less inconveniencies then the other was; and so long as those incommodities are found in an Army, so long the like success (as hapned unto the first) will follow the latter.

You seldom hear or have read of any Army that went far from home, that hath not been subject unto many casualties, unto many accidents, and unto unexpected success and fortune; They are to day Conquerors, and to morrow conquered; this day strong, to morrow weak; sometimes in health and prosperity, upon a very sudden in sickness and penury: Their Triumphs are Messengers of evil fortune; their Victories forerunners of overthrows; their abundance, tokens of Penury; and their conceived hope, an infallible Prognostication of future calamity. Was there ever a wiser Captain then *Hannibal*? Was there ever any Army compounded of so many and diverse Nations? Was there any Souldiers that were better governed? or any Governor that was more carefull of his Company? more politique to win and purchase unto himself the favour and friendship of such people with whom he had any manner of commerce or society, or of whom he stood in any kind of need? And yet what success had his Providence, his Prudence, his Policy? Decayed not his strength daily? his Souldiers, became they not effeminate? his fortune, did it not forsake him? his faithful friends, did they not leave him? the Towns he got, did they not revolt from him? And briefly, lost he not in a very short space, all that he got in many years? And yet since *Hannibal* his time, there was never any Captain, General, Colonel, or Leader of any Army (call him by what name or Title you list) that in my simple conceit might compare with *Hannibal*; either for the governing of his Souldiers, or for temporizing with his Adversaries, for preventing mischeifs, or for inventing new Stratagems; for putting in execution, with good success and marvelous fortune, of all his attempts and enterprises; or briefly for furnishing his Camp with all things necessary, or keeping his Souldiers in awe and obedience; But *Hannibal* contended with the mightiest Adversary of the world: *Hannibal* had secret enemies at home, who were content to suffer him and his to live in want and penury abroad; *Hannibal* pretermitted many occasions of good fortune; which being taken in time, might have made him a most happy Conqueror: *Hannibal* suffered his Souldiers to dote in love, when it was no time to dally in Lechery; Briefly, *Hannibal* would not win when he might have won; And therefore it was reason that *Hannibal* should lose when he would not have lost.

In later times *Hannibal*'s follies have made wise men; *Hannibal*'s evil fortune;

fortune, hath taught others to beware of the like Fortune; *Hannibal's* losses have given his posterity occasion to take heed by his examples, lest following his steps, they chance to fall into his miseries. Now Princes measure their strength by their adversaries power; they rate their charges by the distance of places into which they are to convey their Armies; they furnish their company according to the time for which they purpose to use the same; they cast their accompts before they enter into wars; they consider the casualties which are accustomed to follow wars; they note the dispositions and affections of their neighbours; they mark and observe the provision of their enemies; they provide for longer time then they intend to spend in wars; they have their carriage to attend upon their Armies, their victuallers to follow them, their confederates to supply their wants, their Messengers to bring them word of their necessities, and their Officers both at home and abroad to make provision as soon as any thing is found to be defective or wanting in their Armies: So if they go far from home, they seem always to be at home; if they want, their wants are presently supplied; if they chance to decrease, their number is immediately increased; and although they may happen to languish, yet they are never suffered to perish: True it is, that other mens harmes have made men both in these dayes, and in former times, to be wise and wary: And the Prince is reputed to want the discretion and wisdom requisite in a Prince. who undertaketh wars without due consideration of all the circumstances above mentioned; and yet neither *Hannibals* ill fortune, nor his example, nor common experience, nor fear of inevitable accidents can make men so wary as it becometh them to be, but in later times they have been and will be subject unto the self same Inconveniences which men in former times endured. Have Armies in times past, going far from home, perished in their journeys by reason of the intemperature of the air, the heat of the weather, and the intemperance of the Souldiers, who feed too much of noisom and hurtful fruits, or drank too much of hot Wines in hot seasons, and in hot countries; as did the Army which *Marcus Antonius* led from Italy to *Parthia*, whereof better then 20000 Foot-men, and 4000 Horsemen perished by such casualties before he came to his Journies end? And do not, or have not some miscarried by the same means in our dayes, or within our memories? Have many Christian Armies led out of Christendom into *Turky*, not lost the greatest part of their number before they came unto the place whereunto they were sent? Did not the first Army that ever the *Romans* sent by Sea against the *Carthaginians* perish in the Sea; and almost so dismayed the Souldiers, that they were utterly discouraged to commit any more men or ships to the unmerciful Tempests of the raging Seas? And did not the like befall unto the Navy that *Charles* the fifth sent in his time unto *Algire*, whose lamentable overthrow is pitifully described by a Spanish Historian in the life of *Paulus tertius*, sometimes Pope of *Rome*? Did a plague consume so many of the Souldiers of *Radagafius* King of the *Gothes*, that (as *Saint Augustine* reporteth) one day deprived better then an hundred thousand of their lives? And did not the like happen unto *Francis* the first his Army in his Wars for the Kingdom of *Naples*? Did better then 30000 of that Army which *Fohn* Duke of *Lancaster* carryed out of *England* into *Portugal* perish by the way for lack of victual and necessary sustenance: and might not the same misfortune betide the small company which went out of late from *England* into *Portugal*?

Appianus.
Alexand.

Tit. Livius.

Historia
Pontifical.
de D. Hieron.

Neustria.
Tho de
Wallingh.

Portugal: Was the huge Army which *Darius* had against *Alexander*, overthrowen for want of water, and other inconveniencies occasioned by their long aboad in a strange and unable country to receive so big an host? and can it seem strange or marvelous, that *Charles* the fifth's Army, brought out of *Spain* to *Marselles*, and passing by the most barren and unfruitful countries of *France*, felt the like calamities? Plagues, Pestilence, Famine, Tediuousness of the way, Want of water, Tempests by Sea, and sudden Sicknes have always, and will continually lessen the number, weaken the Forces, and not spare the mighty multitudes that have been or shall be sent far from home by any Prince whatsoever. There is no policy can prevent it, no wisdom that can foresee it, no fore-sight that can withstand it; they be Scourges which it pleaseth the Almighty to send, and therefore it behoveth him that hath urgent occasion to send an Army into forraign countries, to think well thereon, to consider all casualties, and to provide for them long before they happen, lest that want of fore-sight cause his utter discredit and destruction. The only means is, to send such a number as is neither too great to be conveniently maintained, nor too little to effect and accomplish his purpose; especially if things be so ordered, that as soon as occasion shall be ministred, fresh supplies may be conveyed over in due time, and by competent and sufficient numbers. For if the supplies be defective in number, or not transported in seasonable time, they are sent (as experience teacheth) but as Sheep to the shambles. But from these matters (which are touched but by the way of digression) back again to the Spanish King, and to the narration of other reasons, why possessing many Kingdomes, he enjoyeth them all peaceably, or with so little disturbance as he doth. For the better understanding whereof, you are to consider the State and condition of such Princes who have any Lands or Territories confining or bordering upon his Dominions; and in them you are to mark and observe what power they have to annoy him if they would, or what will if they could. The Princes with whom by reason of such Neighbourhood he hath any way to deal, are these.

Justinus.

Vida de
Paulo 3. de
D. Illecas.

The *Turk*, the princes of *Italy*, the princes of *Germany*, the *French* King, and the *Queen of England*: Of which some could be content to annoy him by all means possible, but they want ability answerable to their good will; others have might enough to prejudice him divers ways, but he carrieth so watchful an eye over them, is so jealous of their greatness, so well acquainted with their counsels, determinations and purposes, that all their intents, indeavours, and enterprises against him, are most commonly so soon prevented by his careful providence, as they are intended through their malice and indignation. But it is not sufficient to declare thus much in general terms; you shall see his particular proceeding with every one of these Princes.

The *Turk* he knoweth to be a Prince greatly to be feared of all Christians, as well in regard of his great power, as in respect of his subtil policy. His power is terrible, because he armeth speedily, and that in such multitudes, as both the number and the expedition terrifieth all Christendom: For when he armeth, he most commonly bruiteth it abroad, that he meaneth to carry his Forces to one place, when indeed he conveyeth them to another; yea, and sometimes he sendeth Ambassadors to will them to be assured and out of all doubt, that he will not in any wise molest

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lest or trouble them, whom his full intent, purpose, and resolution is to invade upon a sudden. Considering therefore his strength, his religion, his natural hatred against Christians, together with the continual emulation, quarrels, and contentions that are betwixt Christian Princes, he holdeth it most convenient and necessary to have alwaies a vigilant eye over such an adversary. For of Christian Princes, he considereth who they be whom he most envieth, whose States he most longeth for, after whose Dominions he most thirsteth, and unto which he hath best access, and easiest possibility to attain them. The House of *Austria* are his nearest kinsmen, and on one side the next adjoining neighbours unto the Turkish Territories: With them for kinred sake he entertaineth perpetuamit amity, and is loth to offer them any occasion of discontentment, because he knoweth that of late years they have not only possessed the Empire, but also been greatly favoured in *Germany*; with whose invincible power and puissance, they are both able and ready, when occasion shall be offered, to offend and defend the Turk: For it is their Dominion unto which the Turk hath an especial eye, and an unsatiable desire, and by them and their means, Christian Princes most annoy him; because by the Country of *Hungary* the way lieth open unto these Regions, which he lately subdued; and a Christian Prince leading an Army through that Country against the Turk, may undoubtedly have good success against his Forces, if he shall observe these conditions following.

First, if in conducting his Army he shall avoid and decline the wide plains, and come not neer unto the River *Danubius*; of the commodity whereof, the Turk by reason of his great courage, standeth alwaies in need.

Secondly, If he shall not come nigh unto such places where the Turk may have convenient use of his Horsemen, and innumerable Footmen; with the excessive multitudes of which, he will easily oppress and suppress a Christian Army, if they should chance to encounter in those Plains.

Thirdly, If the Christian Prince shall arm this year, and proceeding slowly on his journey, not meet with the Turk, but fortifie and strengthen such places as he shall get and conquer; and the next year, when as the Turk neither is wont, nor can arm with the like number and quantity, proceed manfully; For the Prince in thus doing, shall compel him to stand continually upon his Guard, and alwaies to entertain great and gross Armies, which he should not be able to endure long; or else enforce him to use such Forces as might be more easily conquered, and so consequently drive him to change the accustomed course and custome of his Wars, which would be as much as half a victory gotten against him.

Fourthly, If the Christian shall endeavour to draw him into some Streight, and there with some war-like stratagem enforce him to a Battel, and with a Troop of well ordered Footmen encounter his Janizaries, which he usually reserveth for some extremity, and with valour, and some unknown and unusual exploit, drive them to the worst, or put them out of their array and order; there is no doubt but with the strangeness thereof he might obtain a notable victory against him; whose horsemen are most easily overthrown, because they are for the most part unarmed.

Fifthly, If he shall mark and observe when there is mutiny, sedition, or secret dissention, disturbance, or discontentment betwixt the Turk and his Subjects, and by all cunning and policy entertain the same, maintain the

the procurers and heads thereof, and in the very heat of their tumult be ready to invade them. For indeed, the especial means to weaken the Turk, is to assault him when he is otherwise busied in wars with the *Sophi*, or with any other enemies, or when his successors are at contention for the crown, or his people divided amongst themselves, or he did lately receive some notable overthrow: for he tyrannizing his subjects in such manner as he doth, the least overthrow that can be must needs endanger his State greatly, because he feareth that his own people will be ready to give entertainment, aid, and succour unto any, by whom they may have certain hope to wind their necks out of the yoke of that intolerable servitude which they now suffer.

This is so true, that it is credibly affirmed by the best Warriours of our age; That if the Christians had proceeded with their invincible Navie, when Don *John de Austria* gave the Turk the famous overthrow (for which all Christendom greatly rejoyced) they might haply have gotten *Constantinople*, and have recovered most part of the Turkish Dominion. Next unto the House of *Austria* is the State of *Venice*; which although it be far inferiour unto many Christian Princes in power and strength by land, yet it yeildeth unto very few or none of them in force by Sea.

With this State the Spaniard knoweth also that it is very good and convenient for him to entertain peace and amity: For albeit they have many Countries confining and bordering upon the Turk (for the which they pay him yearly Tribute) and that their Merchants have continual intercourse of Trade and traffique unto Turkey, and likewise the Turks with them (which bringeth in inestimable wealth and benefit unto the State) and that in consideration hereof the Turk will not easily offend them, nor they willingly displease him; yet the Venetians knowing him to be a Turk, that is, a common enemy of Christendom, the devourer of other mens estates, the disturber of the common peace, and a most notable breaker of all League, Truce and Amity; as often as he stirreth they stand in continual awe of him, and notwithstanding all leagues, contracts, and confederacies with him, are content to joyn with the Spaniard at any time against him, and to use the utmost of their power to annoy and molest him; as it was seen by the great aid which they gave unto the Spanish King, when as Don *John de Austria* gave the Turk the above-mentioned overthrow. Thus being assured of the Venetians friendship, entertaining perfect and perpetual amity with the House of *Austria*, and having the rest of the Princes of *Italy* for his friends, he hath little occasion to fear the Turk: And yet for his better security, he seeketh to live in league and amity with him; and likewise keepeth continual friendship with the Turks greatest enemies, hoping to turn them upon him, if at any time he should chance to attempt any act of hostility against any of his States and Dominions.

The French King is the second considerable friend or enemy the Spaniard hath, of whose friendship or enmity he is to make no small account; For albeit the one hath many more Kingdoms, many more People, and much more Treasure then the other; yet because *France* is of it self, and within it self, a very great Kingdom, well inhabited, full of many great Cities, replenished with all things necessary, and sufficiently furnished with whatsoever is needful, either for Peace or for War: The King thereof is (in my opinion) nothing inferior unto the Spaniard, and much more able to pleasure or annoy him, then any other Prince of Christendom,

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dom. It may be said that the Spaniards many Dominions yeilds him infinite multitudes of Souldiers; that his *Indies* furnish and enrich him with great abundance of Silver and Gold; and that the one and the other make him in a manner invincible; But if his men by reason they are far off, cannot easily be brought together; If because they are of divers Nations they will hardly agree long together; If because they be of contrary natures and conditions, they are not in like measure fit for the Wars; If their discipline shall be found contrary, their humours divers, and their courages in no respects equal or like; What benefit? What good success may be expected of an Army being compounded of so many diversities? Again, if the wealth of the *Indies* may be (as it hath been oftentimes) intercepted; If his Treasures do scant suffice for his ordinary and extraordinary expences; If his debts be already more then he is well able to pay; What booteth his wealth? Or why should *France* fear his Treasure? Or what just occasion hath he, either in regard of his people, or in respect of his gold, to contemn or make small reckoning of the united Forces of *France*? especially since the Countries of *France* are able to set forth such a sufficient Army to encounter with his forces at any time, and the yearly revenues of the Crown of *France*, will serve to maintain and furnish the same Army withal things necessary.

Appianus Alexandrinus, who lived in the time of *Adrianus* the Emperour, in his History of the *Roman Wars* writeth, That in his time, the Emperour *Adrianus* had in pay 200^m. Foot-men, and 500^m. men at Arms, 3000. Carts and Waggons for his Wars, and 300^m. Armors to Arm his Souldiers withal; he had also a Navy of 600. tall Ships, and of 1500. Gallies, with many other Vessels of divers sorts, and with an infinite number of all kind of Instruments and Weapons for Sea-fight; besides 80. Ships with the Prores and the Poups of gold for a shew or ornament of his Wars: And lastly, he had in his Treasure-house, 150^m. Talents in ready coyn: This force, this preparation, this strength and wealth, seemed unto the same Author so great, that in the proem of the very same History he saith, That all the Forces of *Alexander* the Great, of the *Assirians*, of the *Medians*, and of the *Persians* (which were four mighty Emperours) were never able to attain in 900. years unto half the power, strength and greatness that the Romans had. *Titus Livius* had the like opinion of the Roman power; For he saith, That *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, was wont to say, That all the Wars which *Alexander* the Great ever had, were in comparison of his own Wars, with women rather then with men; And that all the life of *Alexander* the Great would not have sufficed to end and finish one only War with the *Carthaginians*, with whom the *Romans*, in the first Wars against them, fought twenty four years together. And that the *Romans* had overthrowne above 1000. sundry Armies, the least of all the which was far greater then the Armies of the *Macedonians*, or of *Alexander* the Great; All which may seem to be true, because *Plutarch* in his Lives of the *Roman* and *Greekish* Worthies, reporteth, That *Julius Caesar* took in his time, one thousand Cities by assault; overcame more then 300. sundry Nations; took above a Million of men prisoners, and slew better then another Million of men in divers Battels; for if one General of the *Romans* wrought so many worthy Exploits, subdued so many Regions, and slew so many Enemies; how infinite, now incredible were the Armies and the Victories of

of the *Romans*, (who had many Captains (As both the *Scipios*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Pompeius Magnus*, and divers others) not much inferior to *Falins Cesar*? Notwithstanding all this that is said, I must needs say that (as *John Bodin* a French Authour saith, in his Book *de Republica*) the *Romans* having made tryal of four several Estates; As of a *Royal*, a *Tyrannical*, an *Aristocratical*, and a *Popular State*, never thrived better, nor ever flourished more, then they did under their *Popular State*: And to what end say I thus? Forsooth to this purpose: To shew you that when the *Romans* were most mighty, when their Authority was greatest, when they commanded all *Italy*, they might justly stand in fear of such an Enemy in *Italy*, as the King of *France* may be thereunto; And so consequently, that the present King of *Spain*, whose power is by very many degrees interiour and not equal to the *Romans*, hath very great and just occasion to doubt and fear the French King; for it is written that *Hannibal*, who was the greatest enemy that ever the *Romans* had, who in my simple conceit, was the most wise, politique, and valiant Captain that ever lived, who knew the strength of the *Romans*, and how they might well and conveniently be annoyed by any Prince that would undertake Wars against them, better then any General of former Age, or of our time doth, or can know, being driven after the ruin and destruction of *Carthage*, to fly for succour, and for his last refuge unto King *Antiochus*, delivered unto him, for his sound and settled opinion; that *Italy* was a Country that was able to yeild unto any forrain Enemy, both Souldiers and Victuals against it self; and yet whosoever would attempt any enterprize, either secretly or openly, against *Italy*, must take the advantage of some Conspiracy, Tumult, or Commonon, to be moved within the very bowels and entralls of *Italy*; for that if the *Romans* might wholly enjoy and imploy the only forces and strength thereof; there was never any King, or any Nation that might justly and truly compare with the *Romans*. Then if *Italy* be such a Country (as undoubtedly it appeareth to be by *Hannibals* Testimony) If it be able to yeild releif to Forrainers; if the next way to win it be to have a partie and partakers in it, who can be thought wise that shall be of opinion the Spaniard is of so great power and Authority in *Italy*, that he should not need to fear the French Kings might or puissance? Shall he not be feared, because some men perhaps think him not able to set forth an Army sufficient to encounter with the Spanish Forces? Why, it is written that *Alexander* the Great (who conquered mightier Princes then the present King of *Spain* is) never had in any Army above 30000. Foot-men, and 4000. Horse-men. It is written that the very *Romans* (whose power was such as you have heard it to be) never used greater Forces against any forrain enemy then an Army of 40. or 50^m. at the most. Lastly, it is Recorded that the Spanish Kings Father held an opinion, for many reasons him thereunto moving; that an Army of the same number and quality which *Alexander* used, was (without all doubt and controverisie) sufficient for any Prince whatsoever against any enemy, was he never so mighty: Again, shall he not be feared because his Treasure is not equal unto the Spaniards Golden Mines? Why, it is true that money and Gold are the very sinews of War; it is an infallible Maxime; we hold it for a most ancient and over-ruled Rule; but if riches had been the best and only means to subdue Nations, never had the poor *Romans* at their first beginning, nor the needy *Swizzers* in their Wars against the

Bodin.

Tit. Livius.
lib. 33.

Tit. Livius.
lib. 9.

rich Duke of *Burgundy*, nor the beggarly *Normans*, in the Infantry of their Chivalry, obtained such Victories and Conquests as they did: But grant that the Spaniard needeth not fear any Enemy in *Italy*, unless he be as mighty as the *Romans*, both in money and in men; If the French King shall be found to be such an enemy, will the Spaniards favourers confess that he is worthy to be feared? If they should not, you would hold them to be senceless.

And if in this Point concerning the annoying of the Spaniard in *Italy*, I prove him not in some manner equal to the *Romans*, I can be content that my slender Reputation shall suffer any manner of indignity. *Titus Livius*, and many other Authors of the like Authority and Credit, make true and large mention of the harms, of the indignities, and of the damages which the *Romans* sustained by *Hannibal*; They report how he passed the *Alpes* with great difficulty, brought in forces into *Italy* with great danger, ruled his Souldiers with great dexterity, provided things necessary for them, with singular wisdom and providence; won divers Princes of *Italy* to joine with him and them, with great Wit and Policy; Lastly, proceeded on his journey with so great courage and magnanimity, prevailed in his enterprises with so good success and fortune, terrified and daunted the invincible hearts and stomachs of the *Romans*, with so many unexpected and notable Victories; that they had no other way to be rid of him but to send *Scipio* to War in *Africa*, and by besieging *Carthage* to call him home to the releif of *Carthage*. Now for the better proof of my purpose, give me leave I pray you, to compare the Spaniard and the *Romans*, the French King and *Hannibal* together; a Molehil indeed with a Mountain; an Eagle in truth with a fly, but such a Molehil, and such a fly, as will declare the greatness of the Mountain; as will illustrate the might and vertues of the Eagle. The *Romans* commanded all *Italy*; The Spaniard ruleth most part of *Italy*; they had no man in *Hannibals* time, that durst oppose himself openly against him; he hath few or none in our Age that dareth shew himself an open enemy against him; they were generally feared; he is undoubtedly redoubted; they were assisted by their friends against *Hannibal*; he would likewise find friends against the French King; Briefly, they stood upon their guard, and he is not without his Garrisons. But an *Hannibal* annoyed them when they were almost in the highest period of their pride and prosperity; And why may not a French King work him annoyance when he standeth most assuredly upon his defence? Shall he not be able to hurt him because the *Alpes* divide *France* and *Italy*, and maketh the passage hard and difficult? But *Hannibal* passed them when they were not so passable as they are now; And how many times have the Frenchmen passed them since *Hannibals* time? Shall he not find means to work him dispiight and hindrance because he is not so well experienced in Wars, as *Hannibal* was? But may he not find many Captains, who in these days have little less experience then *Hannibal* had? Shall he not be sufficient to war against him in *Italy*, because the Country is far better fortified then in *Hannibals* time? but late experience hath taught us, that those Fortifications, Holds, and Citadels, could not stay the course of *Charls* the eighth King of *France*, who passed through all *Italy* as a Conquerour, until he came to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he also subdued? Briefly, shall he not prevail against him in *Italy*, because the Spaniard is in League with most of the Princes hercof? But Histories af-

ford us many examples, that the *Italian* Princes have oftentimes broken their League with the Emperour and other his Predecessors, whose greatness they either feared or enveighed (as they do the overgrowing power of the Spaniard at this present.) And why may not these examples move them to do the like, when as the like occasion of fear or of envy is offered unto them? *Hannibal* counselled (as you have heard) *Antiochus* to war upon the Romans in *Italy*, when they were far stronger then the Spaniards is, and no man had better experience of the Romans or of *Italy* then *Hannibal* had; The reasons therefore enforcing *Hannibal* to give that Counsel to *Antiochus*, may (as they have many times) serve to move the French King to follow his counsel; the rather because experience proved it to be true; and *Antiochus* failed of his purpose, because he hearkned to *Hannibal*'s perswasion.

But this difficulty will be better cleared, if I shall let you understand the opinion of one of the best Warriors of our Age, as well touching the wealth, as the strength of the French King: *Monsieur de la Nove* (who dyed but a few years past, and when he lived was generally reputed and esteemed the best Captain of our time) in his Book of Military discourses, delivereth that the French King, *Henry* the second, levied yearly by ordinary means of his Subjects, fifteen Millions of Francks, part whereof were engaged and pawned for his debts; and yet (saith he) our King levieth no less at this day. Here you see the French Kings Revenues were in some measure comparable unto the Romans: For *Plutarch* in his before mentioned History, writing of the life of *Pompey* (who was surnamed the Great) reporteth, That the yearly and ordinary Revenues of the Roman Common-wealth, before the Conquest obtained by *Pompey*, came but to five Millions of Crowns, which is fifteen Millions of Francks; the just Revenue of the French King, until that *Pompey* increased the same, and brought it to eight Millions, and 500^m Crowns, and brought unto the Treasure-house, ten Millions of Jewels and ready coin: So if you remember, that (as it hath been shewed) the Romans never flourished more, then they did when they were governed by Consuls, and not by Kings or by Emperours; yea you shall see that the French King coming not much behind them in yearly Revenues, may be thought in some respect equal unto them.

Monsieur de la Nove en le, discours politiques.

Plutarch.

The same *Monsieur de la Nove*, in his twentieth Military Discourse, talking of the might and puissance of the French King, delivereth, That he may very conveniently set forth an Army of 60. Companies of men at Arms, of 20. Cornets of light Horse-men, and of five Companies of Harquebusiers on Horseback (which were in all 10000. Horse-men) besides 4000. Royters, and 100. Ensigns of French Foot-men, and 40. Ensigns of *Swissers*, and yet he shall leave his Frontier Towns sufficiently well armed and furnished with men and munition, as well to defend as offend the enemy.

Du Haillan, in his 14th Book of the History of *France*, setteth down, That *Philip de Valois*, when as he warred with *Edward* the Third, King of *England*, for the Crown of *France*, had an Army of 100^m fighting men. The same Authour in his sixteenth Book writeth, That *Charles* King of *France*, meaning to go into *England* against King *Richard* (as I take it) the second, brought to the *Sluce* in *Flanders*, a Navy of 1287. Ships, all laden with men and munition, which I have thought good to let you under-

Du Haillan

Andreas
Friccius de
Repub.

Polib. l. i.

understand, to the end you may see, that if the *Alps* should be made unpassable by the Spaniard for the Frenchmen (which was the Emperour *Charls* the fifth's purpose and intention to do, if in his life time he could possibly have brought it to pass) yet the French King is not unable or unprovided of ships to convey and carry (as his Predecessors have done) a sufficient Army by Sea into *Italy*. *Plutarch* in the life of *Julius Caesar* recordeth, that the Frenchmen came with an Army of three hundred thousand fighting men, to raise *Julius Caesar's* Siege before *Alexia*; a huge number, and such a number as the Romans never used the like against any Forrain Enemy; as the same *Plutarch* testifieth in the life of *Fabius Maximus*, where he affirmeth, that the greatest power which the Romans ever had against any enemy whatsoever, was but eighty eight thousand souldiers: and *Andreas Friccius* in his book *de Repub.* reporteth, that they seldom or never passed the number of forty or fifty thousand; a less number then which, *Charls* the fifth, the present King of *Spain's* father, held to be sufficient (as I have said before) to encounter with any Christian Prince; and I have thought good to repeat, because hearing what you have heard of the French power, you may think the French King well able to annoy any King of Christendom: For although I should grant that his power is weakened, and he not able to arm such multitudes as his Predecessors have done (for which I see no reason, if he were freed of his Civil wars) yet it must needs be granted, that he could easily make an army of that number, and therewith greatly prejudice the Spaniard in *Italy*, especially since a Captain of valour and experience will adventure to set upon innumerable multitudes, nothing fearing their number, with a few well trained and experienced souldiers; as *Alexander* the great did upon *Darius* his innumerable hoste, and *Hannibal* did upon the Romans; who (as *Polibius* testifieth in his second book, with scant twenty thousand, feared not to fight with the Romans in *Italy*, amounting unto seven hundred thousand footmen, and seventy thousand horsemen.

Thus, as in Revenues, so in multitudes of Souldiers, at the leastwise in such multitudes as they commonly used, you see the French King is in some measure comparable to the Romans, but especially in no respect inferiour unto *Hannibal* for men or money; and therefore without all doubt and controversie, as likely and able to war with the Spanish King within the very bowels of *Italy*, as he was to contend with the Romans when they were strongest, as all Princes are most commonly within their own Realms and Dominions, especially if they have (as the Romans had) the same wholly and entirely to themselves. But although this point touching the King of *France* his possibility and means to molest and trouble the Spanish King in *Italy*, be well and sufficiently cleared by that which is said, yet I cannot so leave it; for I hold it convenient to let you know the opinion of his Father concerning the same matter: He therefore considering the variable affections of the Princes of *Italy*, the hidden and secret malice which they inwardly bear unto all strangers and foreigners, the many pretensions which the French King hath unto *Naples* and *Milan*, together with sundry prosperous attempts and journeys which of late years they have made into *Italy*, counselled the present King of *Spain*, his son, at the time he resigned all his Kingdoms unto him (a very rare and commendable act) to carry a watchful and wary eye over the French King; he willeth him to be jealous of his greatness, and to seek all means

means possible to weaken him; he adviseth how to war against *France*, and how by his own examples, and by the remembrance of his own mishaps and evil success, he might fight against the French King with far better advantage then he did at *Marselles*; he exhorteth him to shut up the French King's passage, as much as in him shall lie, by the way of *Turin*; he admonisheth him to take heed lest that at any time the Frenchmen give him some overthrow in *Italy*; he assureth him, that if at any time they should haply obtain any victory there against him, his best and most assured friends in *Italy* would not run the same and the like danger and fortune with him, but presently joyn and associate themselves with his Adversaries; briefly, he warneth him above all other things, to look and foresee, that there be no league of amity and alliance concluded betwixt the French King and the Venetians, or any other Prince of *Italy*; he addeth to those counsels, divers other wise and considerable advertisements; as, to inform himself throughly of the contentions and strifes that are or may be betwixt the principal Houses and Officers of *France*; he counselleth him, if there be any, to nourish them; if none, to procure and set some forward; he considering that the Country of *Piedmont* is easie to be subdued by the French, and of great profit and commodity unto them, either by Wars, or by marriage, to keep them from the possession of all, or of any part thereof; assuring him, that it will not be so beneficial for him to take from the French King a third part of his whole Realm towards *Flanders*, as it will be to shut him out of *Piedmont*; because barring him by that means of an easie access into *Italy*, he shall live in good assurance of his Estates there, which are the chiefest parts of his strength, and the most especial pillars of his greatness. This counsel hath been as wisely followed and executed by the Son, as it was warily given by the Father: for it is better then thirty years ago since he by his instruments (I mean the Princes of the House of *Guisse*) hath maintained and nourished civil dissension in *France*, whereby the Kings thereof in all this time have never been able to make wars upon him in *Italy*. It is likewise many years ago since he favoured the late Duke of *Savoy* (who by the French King was driven out of his Estate) with men and money for the present recovery of the same: and not many years since, for the better assurance of the *Savoyans* friendship, he hath given his second daughter (a match fit for a better man then he) in marriage unto the Duke of *Savoy*; and hath holpen him as much as he could possibly, in all his wars against the late French King, by whom (if God had spared him longer life) he had long before this time, been driven out of his Country. I shall not need to tell you in what terms he standeth with the present King of *France*; you, and all the world know, that he only maintaineth his Rebels, not for any love towards them, but for his own private gain and security. And therefore from the French King I will now come unto other Princes of whom the Spaniard maketh any reckoning or account.

And first unto the Princes of *Germany*, of whom I shall not need to say much, for I shall have occasion to speak of the Emperour in another place; and the other Princes either depend on him, or if they be absolute of themselves, set their whole care upon preserving their own Estates, and care not to augment and increase the same. Hence it cometh, that they live in continual peace, although they differ in Religion, and that one of them encroacheth not upon another, albeit they have their Estates and

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Territories very neer adjoyning together. Hence it cometh, that they live securely, and are not ready to enter into Wars for light occasions, or to succour their Allies and Confederates with such celerity, willingness, and expedition as is required, and thought meet and convenient. Hence again it cometh, that they opposed not themselves against the greatness of the Spaniard, and are not so forward, as they in reason and policy should be, to yeild aid both of men and money unto those whom he molesteth. Briefly, hence it cometh, that there are so many free Towns and Cities in *Germany*, which had framed unto themselves such Governours, and such Rulers as it hath best pleased them; and that these Towns and Cities being of great wealth, are not made subject unto the next adjoyning Princes; for if that the Princes of *Germany* had been so desirous and ready to increase their Estates, as the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, the Dukes and other Potentates of *Italy* have been, who by main force, and the advantage and benefit of times, have usurped the possession of divers Cities, whereunto they had no manner of Right, *Germany* should have fewer free cities, and far mightier Princes then it hath. The Spaniard therefore knowing that these Princes are peaceable men, and not easily led to enter into wars, and yet, because their country is populous, both able and willing to spare many of their Subjects to be employed in forraign Wars, entertaineth as many of them as he can possible, for his friends, and hath lately sought to draw the *Switzers* (who are part of *Germany*) from the service of the French King, wherein he laboureth so earnestly by his Embassadours, that what by promising to pay the French Kings debts, what by assuring them to increase their monthly pay, he had undoubtedly won them, had not the ancient friends of the Crown of *France*, and the eldest captains and Senators stuck hardly unto the late French King, who was compelled for fear of losing their aid and assistance, to borrow as much money as he could possibly, to pay them some part of his debts, and to assure unto himself those Captains and Senatours, without which help, his ancient friends forsaking him, had entred into league and service with the Spaniards. Thus much, or rather this little briefly of the Princes of *Germany*.

Now to the Princes of *Italy*, which are the *Pope*, the Dukes of *Florence*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, and *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*; all which have some Town or other, neer unto the Kingdom of *Naples* or Dukedom of *Milan*.

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Pope of
Rome.

He maketh special account of the *Pope*, not because he is the mightiest (for the *Venetians* are undoubtedly of far greater strength and power then he) but because where he inclineth, there the rest most commonly bend their favour, and lend their furtherance; unto him therefore he carrieth great respect, seceth his chief Counsellors, respecteth his colledg of Cardinals, giveth rewards and yearly pensions unto many of them; and unto those Courtiers who are in special favour with him, promiseth and protesteth that he will be always ready to defend and protect them, and their just causes and quarrels against all princes whatsoever. He careth not by what means he procureth his friends to make a *Pope*, whether it be lawful or unlawful, whether he be worthy or unworthy of so high a place and dignity, so that he be well assured of his Friendship. And if it so fall out, that those cardinals who are not well affected unto him, by plurality of their voices, make such a *Pope* as is rather his enemy then friend, he presently seeketh all means possible to purchase his favour, he corrupteth

corrupteth his best favourites, bribeth his neereſt ſervants, winneth by yearly fees and penſions his chief cardinals, and ſo by direct and indirect courſes procureth his aſſured Friendſhip. Or if he be paſt hope to obtain the ſame, that Pope ſhall be aſſured not to live long in his pontifical feat and Majeſty; For, either he, or ſome one of his friends or followers for him, will find ſome way or other to diſpatch him, as it hath been very lately ſeen and verified: So that either love, procured and continued by his benevolence and liberality towards the Popes Cardinals, or fear, proceeding from the conſideration and remembrance of the dangers which later Popes have both incurred and endured, becauſe they did not either like him, or were not well liked by him, containeth and continueth the See of *Rome* in peace and amity with him.

Next unto the Pope are the *Venetians*, with whom the Spaniard knoweth that he may very eaſily entertain Love and Friendſhip, becauſe they do, or have always put great truſt and confidence in the change and alteration of times; attributing ſo much thereunto, that it is greatly to be feared their long ſufferance will be the cauſe of their utter ruine and deſtruction; for temporizing as they do, they will become in time a prey unto ſome warlike Nation, and namely, unto the Turk, with whom, by reaſon of their continual Traffique with him, they ſtand in ſuch terms, that they lye always open unto him; and it is to be doubted, that he taking the advantage and benefit of time, will one day when they leaſt ſuſpect him, deprive them of *Corfu*, *Candia*, *Zant*, and other places, as he did ſuddenly ſpoil them of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*: notwithstanding becauſe the *Venetians* are ſomewhat jealous of his greatneſs, and fear to ſee any man to be of over-great credit and authority within the bowels and heart of *Italy*; the Spaniard hath a watchful and ſuſpicious eye over them, knowing that as nothing can ſever or ſeperate them from the Turk, unleſs they ſee him not only ready to decline, but alſo in ſome manner thrown down; ſo they have always, and will ſtill be moſt ready to withſtand the aſpiring ambition of any Forreigner that ſhould ſeek to make himſelf great and mighty in *Italy*. Moreover he knoweth that the *Venetians* know not their own power, nor can tell how to uſe the ſame; which they ſhewed to be moſt true not many years ſince, when they took not ſuch occaſions of enlarging their Dominions as were offered unto them. Again he conſidereth, that they having lived a long time in peace, are grown ſo out of uſe of wars, that they have in a manner forgotten all military diſcipline; and therefore if they ſhould at any time give him occaſion to fall at variance with them, he might undoubtedly with aſſaulting them upon a ſudden, drive them to ſome great inconvenience, eſpecially if he ſhould enter with his forces into the heart and very center of their Dominion, and there compel them to put ſtrong Garrifons within all their Forts and Towns of ſtrength, whereby they ſhould not be able to keep the field; and in ſo many holds (as they have) it cannot be but that in ſome of them there would quickly be found want, either of victuals, or of munition; or elſe ſome means to corrupt the Garrifon, or the Captain, or the Inhabitants, or ſuch as are factious; of which quality and humour there are many, in very many of their cities. Further he knoweth that if he were but once Maſter of the field, all that is not ſtrong within the Seigniory (which in all States is a great deal more than the ſtrong) would preſently yeild unto his diſcretion; or elſe he ſhould conſtrain them to come to the field, and

The Spaniſh Kings opinion & proceeding with the *Venetians*, & the reſt of the princes of *Italy*.

there leave the Forts and Towns without sufficient defence, or else not to be able to continue their Garrisons long; and coming once to the field, they will easily be drawn of necessity unto a Battel, wherein they can hope for no great good success; or at the least they must suffer some great disadvantage, by reason of the want of experience, as well in their Souldiers as in their Captains: But the greatest care or fear the Spaniard hath of the *Venetians* is, lest that the remembrance of their good usage and demeanour towards the *Neapolitans*, and of their mild and gentle Government wheresoever they chance to have the upper hand, should make the *Neapolitans* willing and ready to further their Attempts, if at any time they should set upon the Kingdom of *Naples*: This care maketh him entertain friendship with them, and also putteth him in mind (if he see the least likelihood that may be of Wars with them) to seek all the means possible, either by prevention or sudden Invasion to divert them from warring against *Naples*. Thus liveth he either in peace with them, or warreth against them with great advantage.

Now from them to the other Princes of *Italy*, the which are of such strength that he needeth not greatly to fear them; only of them he hath this care and this regard; That he suffereth none of them to augment and increase his Estate, no not him that dependeth most upon him; carrying always this mind, That it behoveth him as well to contain his best friends within a moderate and convenient greatness, as to weaken and deprefs his enemies: For he assureth himself, that those that love him best in *Italy*, who flatter him now most, who follow him with all favour and furtherance, would quickly forsake him, if his Power once began to decline: For the *Italian* lendeth his hand to his enemy to help him up; that is but up to the chin in Water; and putteth his foot upon his head to drown him that is, fallen in above the chin: And because he knoweth their weakness to be such, as that they cannot possibly annoy him, unless they chance to enter into League and Confederacy against him; he entertaineth their divisions, maintaineth his credit and reputation amongst them, provideth wise and discreet Officers to govern his Subjects there, useth his own people as gently as he can; and lastly, foreseeth that they shall not combine themselves against him; This is all that I shall need to say of the Princes of *Italy*.

The Queen
of Eng-
land is the
mightiest
enemy that
the Spanish
King hath.

From whom I must come to the Queen of *England*, who (the times being as they are) is in my simple opinion the mightiest and most terrible Enemy that the Spaniard hath: For albeit *France* is far bigger then *England*; the Turk mightier then *France*; and the other Princes of whom I have spoken, nearer unto him and his States then we are; yet *France* is divided, and therefore not able to molest him: The Turk is strong, but either otherways busied, or not so bold to set upon him, for fear of the other Princes of Christendom, who would be ready to succour him: And the forenamed Princes be many, but not equal in Forces to our Queen; for he that is mightiest of them, is mighty either by Sea only, or by Land only; her Majesty is strong both by Sea and Land, they therefore not able to trouble him without the help one of another; and her Highness of her self sufficient to cross his enterprises, to withstand his indeavours, to prevent his purposes, and to invade his Kingdom. In so much that he may well reckon it for one of the chiefest blessings that God hath bestowed upon him; that it pleased his divine Majesty to make her a woman, and

not

not a man, a lover of Peace, and not a friend of War, a Princess desirous to maintain her own, and not to Conquer other Princes Kingdoms; for if ever she had affected higher Dominion, if ever she had desired to enlarge her Territories, or coveted to enrich her self with his, or other Princes losses; What occasions have been offered unto her? What advantage hath time it self given her? What suit have some of her Neighbours made unto her? not to receive them only into her protection; but also with her aid, help, and assistance, to subjugate other Dominions? *Scotland* may commend her Justice and Liberality; *France* hath great occasion to extol her Lenity and Temperance: *Flanders* is bound to pray for her prosperity: And the Spaniard himself shall be unthankful, if he praise not her Equity. Time hath greatly favoured her by sending divisions amongst her Neighbours; The Almighty hath strengthened her, by impairing the strength of her adversaries; both have set her many degrees above all the Princes of Christendom, by giving her peace, when they have had wars; her abundance, when they have suffered many wants; her loving and dutiful Subjects, when their people have been unkind and rebellious; briefly, her all the blessings that mans heart can wish, and them most part of the crosses that humane imbecillity can endure. I may not dwell upon her praises, because they are far beyond my capacity; I cannot set forth her blessings, because they are innumerable. The one require an higher stile, a more eloquent Tongue, a better Wit, and a greater understanding then the most High hath bestowed upon me: The other are apparent, but not computable; and whosoever shall undertake to express them, shall faint before he be half entred into them; And yet I may not thus leave them, lest passing them over in silence, I should seem curious in other States, and ignorant of our own. Neither may I adventure to write all that I know: Princes actions are open in outward shew, but inwardly obscure; subject to the view of many men, but exceeding the wisdom and capacity of most men; soon espied, but never thoroughly seen; seeming quickly to be known, but hardly well understood; in appearance easie, but in effect very difficult; in some mens opinions, reprehensible, but in others judgments praise worthy: To be short, they may be talked of, but not controlled; admired but not censured; lightly enquired after, but not narrowly sifted and examined; It sufficeth to hear them, it becometh not any man to seek and search the Reasons of them: Nature enforceth us to desire the one; and wisdom warneth us not to be curious of the other.

But I have taken upon me to make a full Discourse of this time; and therefore may not omit the principal Actions of the only Princess of our time, nor obscure her Puissance by leaving it untouched, whose power is invincible, because it was never touched: The Maiden whose honesty was never attempted, deserveth the name of a true Virgin: And the Prince whom no man dareth to molest, may well be termed invincible: The Fort that never parteth, is seldom taken: And the King whose Power never decreaseth, can hardly be subdued.

It is written that the Frenchmen seeing the innumerable Armies that have been sent out of *England* into *France*; and considering that they murdered our men daily, and in great numbers, and yet we received daily new supplies from home, as though our men never dyed, compare us unto wild Geese, which in the coldest Winters come unto the wary

grounds every year by great flocks, and albeit most part of them be killed before the Winter be fully ended, yet they return the next year in as great quantities as they did the year before; And so, although they were wearied with killing and slaying our Country-men; yet as soon as one Army was defeated, there came a new supply, which took sharp revenge of the others deaths, and never suffered them to live in peace, ease, or quietness, until they redeemed their vexations and troubles with such conditions as contented our Princes.

I might here take just occasion to trouble you with a long recital of the Forces and Armies which divers of our Kings have led and carryed, either under their own, or under their Lieutenants conduct into *France* or *Flanders*, into *Italy* or *Germany*, into *Spain* or *Portugal*, into *Turky* or the *Holy Land*; but our Histories and other Chronicles are full of them, and you carry them so well in mind, that I hold it very superfluous to refresh your memory. I leave the prowess of *Edward* the third undeclared; the fortunate Conquests of *Richard* the first untouched; the happy Victories of *Henry* the fifth unrepeated; and the strange and marvelous fortunes of many other of our Kings, not mentioned: I list not to boast of the black Princes valour, of the Duke of *Glocesters* boldness, of the Bishop of *Winchesters* pride, who being but Subjects under our Kings, carried out of our Realm divers Armies comparable to the Forces of Kings. Old Histories are reputed for Fables; Things beyond memory are not thought worthy of memory; And what our Fathers did, redoundeth not, in some mens opinions, to our praise or commendation, according to the Poets saying.

*Et genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

But later Years have held many Testimonies of our strength, manifold Arguments of our valour, infallible proofs of our power; The Spaniard is in the opinion of all men, the terrour of Princes, the controller of Kings, the Monarch of the world, and the most and highest Sovereign of all Sovereigns; It is he that maketh *Italy* to tremble; that holdeth *Spain* in great awe; that terrifieth the proud and invincible *Germans*; that molested the valiant and variable Frenchmen; that tyrannizeth over the effeminate Flemmings; that mastereth the ancient and warlike *Burgundians*; that captivateth the free and manly *Switzers*; that miscarrieth the populous and poor *Scots*; that bridleth the simple and untamed *Indians*; that ruleth the unruly and obstinate people of *Portugal*; that overlooketh with an eye of ambition, with a heart of covetousness, with a desire of superiority, with an insatiable appetite of Sovereign Authority, the whole face, and the large precincts of Christendom. It is he that useth his wit, imployeth his strength, bendeth his power, armeth his people, directeth his Council, and dedicateth all that he possesseth to the lawful or unlawful enlarging of his Territories. It is he that taketh of his Father to be Ambitious, that hath learned of his Ancestors to be troublesome, that thinketh it a work befitting a Prince, and becoming a King, to vex and molest all Kings. It is he that dreameth by night, studieth by day, practiseth at all times how to let no time pass without a line (as it was anciently said) without a Stratagem, a late invented policy, an unknown practise, and

and a rare and marvelous enterprise. It is he that increaseth in ambition as well as in years, in covetousness as well as in pride, in rigour as well as in morosity; Briefly, it is he, and I would to God that it were not he, that troubleth the peaceable estate of Christendom, that only vexeth the Realm of *France*, that disquieteth *Flanders*, and setteth friends at jars, allies at variance, and confederates at dissention; insomuch that it may well be said of him,

Phi-malus & lippus, totus malus ergo Philippus.

Now if a woman hath presumed to encounter with this man; if a Queen of one Island hath undertaken to bridle a Prince of so many Nations; if her sole Forces have tamed his invincible power, her only counsel prevented his subtle practises; her good will, withstood his ill-will, his mischievous practises, and his ambitious desires; if she alone hath hindred him to be Lord of *France*, Ruler of *Italy*, and Commander of all the rest of the world; shall he not err that compareth *Hercules* with her? Or can any man deem him wise, that taketh her in any respect inferiour to *Julius Caesar*, mighty *Pompey*, or *Alexander the Great*? For two of these, with the invincible power of the invincible Romans, conquered some part of the rude and unwarlike people of the world; and the third and fourth are famous, not in true Histories, but in old Fables, for doing such exploits as are more pleasant then credible, more praised then possible, and much more admired then allowed for true, and not miraculous: But if any man shall deny her to be wise, her peaceable Government giveth him the lie; if her might and power shall be called in question, her actions in *Flanders* and *France*, testifie the fulness of her strength; if her justice be not worthily commended, her motherly care over the present King of *Scotland* while he was an infant, her pitiful charity extended to as many as have had need of her help, and her upright and just proceedings in as many matters forraign and domestical as have been referred to her discretion, shall convince him of falshood, or of malice, that shall derogate ought from her innumerable multitudes of her everlasting praises. I wonder when I hear the Romans boast of their *Pompey*, the Grecians brag of their *Constantine*, the French report wonders of their *Charlemagne*, and the Syrians set forth the praises of their *Antiochus* (whom every one of these Nations baptized with the surname of Great) because their actions were somewhat extraordinary, exceeding the common success of other Princes, and the usual fortune of many and divers Kings: for if a woman hath gone far beyond them all, and that without the aid of any Allies, without the help of Forraign powers, and without the strength of such as should have employed their whole strength to the furtherance of her endeavours; are not their praises eclipsed, their honours blemished, and their renown obscured? They lived in an age of ignorance, in a time of simplicity, in a season of cowardly pusillanimity; she ruleth in a world full of Machiavelists, pestered with deceitful *Hanibals*, plentiful of warlike Captains, and rather over-burthened, then not thoroughly furnished with sufficient Counsellors: and yet neither the policy of the wisest, nor the deceit of the craftiest; not the labour of most warlike, nor the wisdom of the best and most sufficient Counsellors, hath ever drawn her into any small inconvenience, but hitherto either wisely or happily, providently

providently or fortunately, warily or worthily she hath not only prevented but escaped, foreseen but overgone, forecast but overcome the most secret, the most subtil, the most divelish, and the most unnatural and inevitable practises, devises, attempts, treasons, and trecheries of her adversaries. For many men and women, learned and unlearned, spiritual and temporal, noble and ignoble, courtiers and counsellors have sought her death, and committed treasons against her: Witness the late Queen of Scots, Mrs *Arding*, and her daughter, witness Dr *Storey*, Dr *Parrey*, and Dr *Saunders*: Witness *Campion*, *Sherwin*, and their complices: Witness the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and *Arundel*: Witness *Babington*, *Throgmorton*, *Tilney*, and their confederates: Witness the late Duke of *Norfolk* and *Perrott*, both Privie Counsellors of great account, wealth, credit, and honour, both greatly loved, trusted, and honoured by her Majesty, both bound unto her Highness for many favours, dignities, and advancements, both (briefly) counselled, animated, encouraged, and directed in their treasons by the wise Counsellors of the mightiest Prince, and the greatest enemy that her Grace had in the world: Their treason was plotted abroad, and intended at home; invented in *Spain*, and should have been executed in *England*; there it received a beginning, here an approbation: here were executioners, and there counsellors; here practisers, and there patrons; here the traytors were blinded with ambition, there the abettors were transported with envie; here reigned pride, and there revenge; briefly, here the treasons ended, but their malice continueth, and sendeth forth daylie new Conspirators, new devises, and new practises: Since therefore her Majesties death hath been so often intended, the subversion of her State so many times purposed, and the performance of both so desperately undertaken, her Highness for her self, and we for her Highness, are greatly bound to pray to the Almighty, who hath so many ways, so many times, and so miraculously preserved her.

Plutarch.

Julius Caesar was so fortunate, that being in great danger of drowning and presuming that it was not his Creators pleasure that he should perish in the Sea; when the Pilot durst not adventure to carry him for fear of the apparent and great danger which threatned his present death, he boldly said to the Master of the Ship, *Gothy ways, thou carriest Cæsar, and Cæsar's Fortune*; and yet notwithstanding it was his fortune to be killed with *Bodkins*, and that by his dearest friends, yea in the Senate House, where he thought himself as safe as in his own Palace, as sure as in a Castle, and as free from danger as a Prince invironed with a strong Guard.

Pompeius had many commendable qualities, great store of friends, infinite followers, strange fortunes, many signs of Gods blessings, sundry tokens of more then ordinary and humane felicity; and yet he was poysoned or done to death by his professed friends.

Alexander, who for his Prowess, was surnamed the *Great*; for his fortune was one of the Wonders of the world, and for his rare faithful friends and Counsellors, went far beyond all the Princes that lived either before or after him; neither by his vertue nor valour, nor by his fortune and good hap, nor by his friends and Counsellors, could escape the fatal poyson that ended his days, before he attained unto those years which be the forerunners of Age: So as in others, so in this Point her Majesty far exceedeth *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Alexander*, the three greatest Princes that ever lived:

lived: For their death was so soon performed as purposed; Her life hath been often sought (but God be thanked therefore) not shortned; they escaped not the malicious Treasons of one or two; she hath been preserved from the wicked treacheries of very many; they could not prevent the Conspiracies of their friends; she hath withstood the open and secret attempts of their enemies; Briefly, they dyed before they became old, she hath attained unto sixty years of her Age; and the rare fortune which she hath hitherto had to escape so many and marvelous dangers, putteth me, and all her loving Subjects, in good hope, that it will please the Almighty to add many more years of bliss and happiness to her days: neither do I think only that she shall live beyond the ordinary and usual years and age of other Princes; but I am fully perswaded, that her Grace is preserved and reserved to great fortune to some marvelous purpose; her qualities exceeding other Princes conditions; her fortune being more then ordinary, and her dangers escaped, not prudently, but providently, not by humane policy, but by divine prevention; give me good occasion to presume, that he that disposeth of Kings, and all Kings Actions, lengthneth her days, and hath dedicated her years to some notable accident: For what he hath intended, man cannot prevent: what he purposeth, humane wit cannot change or alter, his resolutions are in Heaven, ours on earth; his eternal, ours changeable; his immutable, ours subject to alteration; We purpose, he disposeth; we intend, he changeth; we desire, he ruleth, yea so ruleth, that he directeth our thoughts, leadeth our counsels, inclineth our dispositions to his will and pleasure; he knows our necessities before we ask, our infirmities when we conceal them, our desires, albeit we keep them most close and secret; He giveth us what is expedient for us, granteth us more then we dare desire, provideth better for us then we can deserve; and to be short, is so resolute to do us good, that all our wits, capacities, and policies are not able to prevent the meanest of his determinations, so the same tend to our benefit: For although his mercy exceeding our merits, and his clemency yeilding to our contrition, do sometimes divert the evil that we have deserved, and mitigate the punishments which are due to our many offences; yet if our humility be not dissembled, or his pleasure fully bent to work us any good whatsoever; so good is he, that our good cannot be attended, nor his intention changed: An Example or two will prove this to be manifest; and therefore I will afford you these Examples.

Man cannot prevent what God intendeth.

Asiages dreamed that his Daughter *Mandana* made so much water at one time as filled his whole City, and was likely to drown his whole Country; with which dream being greatly terrified, he propoundeth the same to be expounded by his best Interpreters of Dreams; They report, that of the said Daughter should come such an Issue, as should drive him from his Kingly Seat: He taketh counsel what to do to prevent this intention of the Almighty. It is resolved, that the best means is to marry his Daughter to a mean man. The counsel is followed, and she married not to a *Median*, worthy of such a Wife and Princess as she was; but unto a mean *Persian*, by name called *Cambises*, born of indifferent good Parentage, but not likely to carry such a mind as to deprive his Father in Law of his Kingdom. The same year that his Daughter was married, he dreamed again, That out of her Privities sprang such a Vine, as overspread all *Asia*. This Dream he likewise communicated with the Soothsayers:

Herodotus lib. 1.

sayers : They delivered, That out of the Womb of *Mandana* should proceed such a Child as should be Lord of all *Asia*; and so desirous thereof, that he should hardly and very unwillingly attend his Grand-Fathers death : According to the Prophecie, the Child is born, his Nativity cast, and the disposition of his body, and other outward signs foretel, that the Prognostication made before his birth, was likely to prove true. The Grand-father minding to prevent a future mischief, giveth him unto one of his faithful Counsellors, commanding him to put him to death : The Counsellor moved with pitty, commendeth the child to the custody of his Shepherd, yet charging him to murder the Infant ; The Shepherds Wife having a child of her own dead the very self same day, not finding in her heart to consent to the death of so pretty and Princely a Child, beseeched her Husband to expose her own dead Child instead of *Cyrus*, for so *Astages* his Grand-father was called : The Shepherd followed his Wives counsel, and yeilded his consent that she should bring up *Cyrus* as her own : He groweth to years, and within a few years is chosen King by other children of all sorts, poor and rich, Noble and ignoble ; and being elected King, commanded as a King, and inflicteth punishments upon his far betters, for disobeying his Authority. They disdaining to be commanded, much less to be punished (as they were) by their far inferiour, complain to their Parents, and they to *Astages*, of the injury offered by poor *Cyrus*. The Shepherd is enjoined to bring forth *Cyrus* ; he maketh appearance at the day appointed ; carryeth himself not Shepherd like, but Princelike, before the King : And being demanded by the King how he durst presume to command his betters to be chastised ; answered boldly and with a spirit far exceeding his years, and not becoming his supposed Estate, That since it had pleased the rest of the youth to chuse him for their King, and to subject themselves in general unto him, it was not lawful for any particular, were he never so good, to disobey him ; And in case any one did so far forget himself as to contemn his Authority, that then it was as lawful for him, as for King *Astages*, to punish his or their disobedience. At which Answer the King being astonied, looking upon the audacity of the Child, considering his wisdom, calling to mind the exposing of *Cyrus*, and conferring his Daughters childs Age, and his years together, suspected him to be *Cyrus* : Sent presently for *Harpagus* (for so was the Counsellors name unto whom he had given him to be destroyed) compelleth him to tell the truth ; The Shepherd is likewise sent for, who declareth the means and manner how *Cyrus* was saved : The King highly offended with *Harpagus*, and fully resolved to depreess *Cyrus*, dissembleth his anger with the one, and taketh present order for the base education of the other. *Cyrus* is sent from *Media* into *Persia* : and *Astages* not long after, carrying a watchful and revengeful mind ; and knowing that *Harpagus* had but one child, and being once rebuked of *Harpagus*, (more boldly then wisely) of drunkenness, sendeth for the Infant and the Father, unto whom he saith, *Thou toldest me (of late) I was drunken ; Now to shew thee whether I be, or no, I have here an Arrow in my hand, which if I do shoot so rightly, that I do hit thy Son at the heart, thou mayest well thank I am not drunk ; and if I miss his heart, then will I not be offended at thee for so saying of me :* He shooteth the Arrow, and striketh the child at the heart : And not content with this severe revenge, commandeth the Father to sup with him, and compelleth him at Supper to feed on the best and cheifest

parts of his only and dearest Son, baked in a Pie. *Harpagus* endureth the wrong for a while, and maketh *Astages* to continue his cruelty, consenteth to his Marriage with his own Sister, bringeth him by secret means, and his own leud demeanor, into the hatred of his Subjects; And when he saw that it was time to begin to work his revenge; fearing that if he should send a Letter to *Cyrus* (whom he meant to use for the Instrument of his revenge) by ordinary means, the same might be intercepted, and so both he and *Cyrus* endangered; taketh an Hare, openeth his Belly, within it encloseth a Letter, and giveth the Hare to a trusty Messenger to carry unto *Cyrus*, willing him to take off the Hares skin; And to the end the matter might be less suspected, he apparelleth the man like a Hunter, giveth him Nets in his hand, and other instruments belonging unto Hunting: The Letters contained, *That Cyrus should dispose the Persians to revenge the wrongs that Astages had done unto him and to Cyrus: The trust that Astages reposed in Harpagus, and that being assured to be made cheif Lieutenant of the Median Forces which should be sent against Cyrus, he would presently revolt unto Cyrus, who by that means might easily overthrow his Grand-father*: The Plot was thus layed; *Cyrus* rebelled, *Astages* put *Harpagus* in trust with all his strength; he flyeth unto *Cyrus*; *Astages* is delivered into the hands of his enemies, and the Empire of the *Medians* is by this means translated unto the *Persians*.

Amulius to rule alone, killed *Numiter*, and made his Daughter *Rhea* one of the Virgins Vestals, that no man-child might proceed from her to revenge the wrong done unto her Father, or recover the Kingdom due unto her Father. *Rhea* living thus sequestred from the company of men, is gotten with child, it is not known whether by mortal man, or by the God *Mars*. She bringing forth two Twins, they are called *Romulus* and *Rhemus*, who being brought up (as some say) by a Wolf, or (as others) by a common Strumpet called *Lupa*, as they grew in years, so they increased in virtues, valour, and credit, and in time wrought the revenge of their Grand-fathers death, and drave *Amulius* from his Kingdom.

Just. lib. 43.
Tit. Livius.

Cambyses, Son to the afore-named *Cyrus*, dreamed that a Messenger brought him word that his Brother *Smerdis* sitting in his royal seat, touched the Heavens with his head; by occasion of which dream, fearing that he might be deprived of his Kingdom by his Brother, more speedily then wisely, he commanded *Smerdis* to be done to death: He is no sooner dead, but one *Smerdis* rebelled against *Cambyses*; with whom *Cambyses* riding to encounter, as he gat upon his horse, his Sword fell out of his sheath, and ran him through the Thigh, of which wound he dyed.

Herodotus
lib. 3.

Gargoris Rex Curetum, begat a Son upon his own Daughter, and being ashamed of so foul a fact, purposed to cause the child to be murdered. First he willed him to be cast to wild beasts: The wild beasts contrary to their kind, nourish him. Then he throweth him amongst hungry Dogs, and such as he had caused many dayes to be kept of purpose from meat: The Dogs likewise spare him. Next he exposeth him unto certain Hogs, unto which there was no manner of Sustenance given in a long time: The Hogs likewise do him no kind of harm. Then he willeth him to be thrown into the Ocean Sea, whence he is cast upon the shore, and presently an Hart giveth him suck. Lastly having lived a long time amongst a number of Harts, until he could run as fast as they, he was taken in Nets by cer-

Just. lib. 44.

tain Huntsmen, who presented him unto the King; by whom being known, as well by the proportion of his body, as by certain marks given him as soon as he was born, he is acknowledged and accepted for his Nephew, and in regard of so wondrous preservation from so many and different perils and dangers, is also declared only heir of his Kingdom, and called *Atis*.

These examples although they may seem to be untrue, and incredible, yet because they are strange and wonderful, and reported by such Authors whose writings deserve no small credit, they may right well serve to put us in mind, that whatsoever the eternal God hath decreed, it lies not in our power to prevent or alter his determination.

Astyages could command his daughter to marry with a mean man, he had power to will the fruit of her womb to be destroyed, he might entreat or enforce *Harpagus* to procure the Infants death; But after that he (moved with compassion) spared the childe, and committed the same unto the custody and discretion of the Shepherd: *Astyages* authority, and *Harpagus* commission expired, the Shepherd pitied the poor Infant, and it pleased the Almighty (who had resolutely determined his greatness and welfare) to suffer him to live, to the utter ruine and overthrow of the Grandfather.

Amulius, as a wicked Usurper, intended to deprive *Rhea* of her right, according to his purpose slew her father, and dedicated her to such a life, as there was small hope that from her should succeed any off-spring to spoil and deprive him of his Royal Scepter: But God had fully resolved that out of *Rheas* womb should proceed the scourge of her fathers iniquity, and the founder of the Romans Majesty, and accordingly of her came *Romulus* and *Rhemus*, who founded that worthy and famous City.

Cambyfes, dismayed with a dream, and fearing that his Brother would shorten his days, and usurp his Crown, took the ordinary means that Princes use to take in such occasions; but he had no sooner killed one *Smerdis*, but another arose and rose against him, who did put him besides his royal Diadem.

Briefly, *Gargoris* thought by adjudging the Son which he begate upon his own daughter, sometimes to one, and sometimes to another kind of death, to have hidden his own shame, and to have debarred the poor Infant from his right: But he that righteth all wrongs, and undertaketh the defence of the innocent, would not have it to be so, would not suffer wickedness to prevail, nor permit the guiltless blood to be destroyed.

I may therefore infer by these examples, and by the rare fortune which our gracious Queen *Elizabeth* hath hitherto enjoyed, that it lieth not in the ambitious Spaniard, nor in the proud Prelate of *Rome*, her mortal enemies, her sworn and professed adversaries, to shorten her days, but one day, or one minute: Their wishes are on earth, but cannot ascend to heaven; they may purpose, but not dispose, they have often desired, but could never prevail; they have suborned many, but never found, nor shall find any that shall be able to accomplish their desire; the Axe may be layed to the root of the Tree, but it shall not have power to fell it; the Lyon perhaps may go about to seek his prey, but he shall never find it; the divel (as a divel) may provoke and procure his instruments to be ready to further his attempts, but Gods Angels attending on her person, having a care of her health, and a special charge of her safety, will not permit divel-

divellish ministers to have the least power that may be over her.

The Rule and Government of Women is rare; and *omnia rara sunt chara*: Their Sex is weak, and the Almighty hath promised to be the Protector of the infirm and weak; Their capacity is not answerable to mans policy; and the Lord hath said, that his elect shall not be confounded with humane wisdom; he hath said, and we may swear, That heaven and earth shall sooner perish, then his word shall fail. Why then do the Princes rage? Why then do the Pope and the King of *Spain* fret and fume against the Lords Anointed? Against his chosen Vessel? Against his dear Virgin? Why the cause is the Lords, and he will try it, he will end and determine it. Is it because she upholdeth and defendeth the Spaniards afflicted and oppressed Subjects? Why, therefore she was ordained, therefore the Lord preserveth her. Is it because she liveth in peace, and they in wars? Why, the Almighty hath blessed the Peace-makers, and hath vowed to be the Protector and Patron of as many as love peace. Is it because her subjects rebel not against her, as theirs do? Why that is an expresse and manifest sign of their evil, and her good Government. Is it because she withstandeth their attempts and purposes? Why she medleth not with their doings, but with such as tend to her hinderance; and those it is both lawful and honourable for her to cross and prevent. Briefly, Is it because the wisest Princes and Subjects of the world favour her more then them? Why, that is because their actions are not in any respect equal or comparable unto hers; for they pretend one thing, and intend another; her thoughts and pretensions do alwaies agree together: They would seem to love Peace, and yet dwell continually in wars; she seeketh peace and embraceth it: They combine themselves, and employ their strength and Forces against Christian Religion, she useth her power to no mans detriment or destruction: Briefly, they do or would usurp more then belongeth unto them, and she requireth no more then is her own. That such is her mind, desire, and purpose is most apparent to all the world, because when she might have had the Sovereignty and universal Government of *Flanders*, she accepted it not; when she might have excluded the Spaniard out of the possession of his rich and wealthy *Indies*, she deprived him not of them; And when as her Forces are sufficient to disturb his whole Realms of *Portugal* and *Spain*, she employeth them not to his disturbance: But *In magnis voluisse sat est*: She hath assaulted the *Indies*; attempted the conquest of *Portugal*, and assayed what her Forces could do in *Spain*: It cannot be denied but that her Majesty hath done as much, and perhaps more, then is said; but not before she was provoked thereunto, neither with a mind so much to prejudice the Spaniard, as to provide for her own safety; For when Sir *Francis Drake*, with such Forces as he and his friends with a very slender help from her Highness, had provided, happily spoiled part of the *Indies*, and returned thence with no small prey, if he had gone thitherward somewhat sooner then he did, better furnished then he was, & with a larger commission then he had, al which lay in her Majesty to have granted him, undoubtedly either the season of the year, or the number of his ships or the largenes of his Authority, would both have encouraged and also enabled him to have done those her Highness enemies much more and greater despight then he did. But as wise men going about a great piece of work, and finding when they have begun the same, that their ability will not serve to accomplish it, sit down and study what ways to take, and

The justification of the Queens attempts against Spain and Portugal.

Guicciard.
lib. 10.

Machiavel
in his dis-
course upon
Tit. Livius.

how to put those ways in execution, for the full perfection of their enterprise: So her Highness having so mighty an enemy as the Spaniard, whose Attempts and purposes it was necessary (for her own security) to cross and prevent. And finding that her Treasure was not comparable to his wealth, especially seeing he attempted divers ways to annoy her, and purposed to weary her with length of time, and variety of expences, resolved with her self, that it could not be amiss to permit her loving Subjects to adventure some part of their wealth, and a small portion of her own Treasure, in hope to bring from the *Indies* much more than they carried thither: The which her Resolution being put in practise, found the same event which was expected, and the sequel thereof sufficiently declared; that a greater Navy well furnished with sufficient men, and good store of Victuals and Munition, might then, and may yet, put her Majesty in quiet possession of the richest and best part of the *Indies*: But it sufficeth her Highness to try the Forces of those Countries; to acquaint her Sea men and Souldiers with the way thither; to give them a taste of the *Indian* wealth; and to make her power known as well unto the Inhabitants of those remote Countries, as of other nearer Regions of the world, who thought too basely of her strength, and carried too good a concept of her Adversaries might and puissance; And finally, to fetch from her mortal enemies own Dominions some Treasure wherewith to withstand the Rancor and extremity of his malice. In which Action her Majesty fully and wisely imitated the example of the *Florentines*, who fearing that Pope *Julius* the second would war upon them for consenting unto that Counsel which divers Cardinals, with the consent and furtherance of the French King and other Princes, had summoned against him; and thinking it convenient to defray the charges of Wars, moved in defence of *Church-men*, with Church goods; seized upon so much of the Clergies goods as they thought would suffice for the maintenance of those Wars: Even so her Highness hearing that the Spaniard had a long time prepared to invade her Realm, and being well assured, that as soon as he could be well able he would send the same preparation towards *England*; held it expedient and necessary to seek all means possible whereby she might happily be enabled to maintain either all, or part of the Expences of those Wars with his Treasure; And having learned of men of great experience what Forces would suffice to effect her desire and purpose, thought it superfluous and needless to send thither greater strength then they (not unadvisedly) required; And albeit neither her Majesty nor the Lords of her privy Council were ignorant that the *Indians* were far stronger then when they were first conquered; And therefore that such a Navy as was first sent thither could not work the like effect there; yet both her Grace and they thought it not meet to employ any more of her own, or of her Merchants Ships in that service, lest that the Spanish Fleet (which was expected in *England* many years before it came) coming upon her Realm in the absence of Sir *Francis Drake*, and his Consorts, should not have found the same sufficiently provided to make such resistance as was needful: For as it sheweth courage in a Prince to give the first on-set upon his enemies within his own Dominions; so it argueth want of discretion and wisdom to assault his adversaries with such force and power, as if the enemy in absence thereof invade his Realm, there should not be found at home, an Army sufficient to withstand his Invasion.

Now

Now as touching her Majesties Attempt made against *Portugal* and *Spain*; The manner thereof is not unknown unto the world, the cause is notorious, and the success is not hidden nor secret: For Mr *Anthony Wingfields*, and Mr *D^r Doylies* Books; the one in English, the other in Latine, set down the order, motive, and the event of that Attempt, so truly, so fully, and so plainly, as I shall not need to say any thing thereof, especially having already touched his Right at large, for whose cause, and at whose instance the Voyage was undertaken: But because the said Books make but a plain and true Narration of the Journey, and of the cause and success thereof, leaving the Justification of the same cause unhanded, and you desire to see the same confirmed and strengthened by some examples declaring the equity thereof: I will in this Point somewhat satisfy your desire and pleasure.

Presupposing therefore *Don Antonio* his Title to the Kingdom of *Portugal* to be just and right (as his own Apology can, and doth testify) I think it will not be denied, but that what help soever was, or shall be hereafter yielded unto him for the recovery thereof, was, and will be both warrantable by Law, and justifiable by many and infinite Histories.

The Law be it of Nature or of Nations, warranteth any man whatsoever, *Vim vi repellere*, to repel force by force, which is not tyed to this bare sense and meaning only; That it shall be lawful for him to defend himself only against him that assaulteth his person, or endangereth his life; but it reacheth further, and giveth him leave to use any moderate violence, yea sometimes to kill him (if he cannot otherwise retain his own) that goeth about by main force to put him out of possession of his lands and inheritance, or to take away his goods from him. The same proceedeth further with us in *England*, and in *France*, and provideth that if a man be assaulted, and others stand by, and help him not, they are held for partakers of the violence that is offered unto him; and if a man be robbed upon the high-way, and Hue and Cry be not made presently after the Theeves, the Town, Village, or Hamlet, which presently pursueth not the Malefactor, shall answer whatsoever is taken from the party that is robbed.

The reasons of this Law are many. First it is expedient for the Commonwealth to conserve the lives and goods of the Subjects thereof; then there should neither be *Meum* nor *Tuum*, if this Law did not take place. Next, the first and especial cause of assembling Societies together, and of making and fortifying Villages, Towns, and Cities, was a desire and care which men had to live together in safety, as well of their Goods, as of their persons. Lastly, nature detesteth unlawful violence, desireth the conservation of her Creatures, tendreth their welfare, and hateth the Procurers of her harm and detriment, and therefore provided Princes that should minister Justice unto all men indifferently, defend the innocent valiantly, maintain their Subjects in peace continually, and duly inflict condigne punishment upon the breakers and perturbors of peace and tranquillity. Now because Justice loseth her name and majesty unless a proportionable Equity be observed in the administration and exercise thereof, as private mens security is regarded and rendered in Justice, so the Law must likewise have the indemnity, safety and commodity of Superiors, Magistrates, and Princes in recommendation, otherwise they should be in far worse case then their own Subjects are: For, the wrongs that are done

done unto them, are righted by their Magistrates; and therefore it standeth with good reason, that some provision be made, and some care had for the reformation of such injuries as are offered to the Kings and Princes. If a Subject be thrust out of possession of his proper Inheritance, the Law provideth that he shall be presently restored thereunto. And if a King be wrongfully driven out of his Kingdom, shall not he be allowed to seek a restitution thereof? He shall, but how? Forsooth at his hands who hath deprived him; but what if the Usurper will not yeild to his petition? he is then to implore the help of other Princes, and they on his behalf are to pray and admonish the Usurper to make restitution of all that he detaineth wrongfully; whereunto if he shall not hearken after due admonition given unto him, they may (*junctis viribus*) invade his Realm, and by main force inforce him to restore whatsoever he with-holdeth unjustly. For this charge lay upon the Emperours, as long as they were of sufficient force and authority to command and controll the Kings of this world: But now that the Imperial Majesty is somewhat abated, and Kings have freed and emancipated themselves from the Emperours power and jurisdiction, it remaineth as part of the charge of Kings, to see that no violence be offered unto their Colleagues, and especially unto their Confederates. Therefore it is usual amongst Princes to enter into Alliance together, with expresse conditions to take the Enemies each one of the other for their own Enemies, and not only to defend their own Estates against all men whatsoever, but also to offend him, whatsoever he be that shall attempt any thing to their prejudice; and there is nothing more common then to see Princes oppressed to fly for aid unto the Oppressors Adversaries, and to receive help and succour from them.

That it is lawful for a prince to receive & succour another Prince flying unto them for refuge and relief.

They therefore are highly commended which receive and harbour a distressed Prince, and they contrarywise worthy of perpetual shame and infamy, which either refuse to receive such an one, or after his receipt offer him any manner of wrong or violence; because as to adde affliction unto the afflicted is a point of great Inhumanity; so to comfort the comfortless is a work of singular Justice and Lenity. The commendation due to this kind of courtesie hath wrought so strange effects in the hearts of many Princes, that some have received their professed Enemies, others have fallen out with their dearest friends, rather then they would restore a poor Prince being fled unto them for succour, when he was demanded at their hands; some have refused great rewards which have been offered them for the restitution of such as lived in exile and banishment within their Territories, others have entertained them with large yearly Pensions, and presently aided them for the recovery of their Kingdomes; some have given them whole Cities to dwell in, others have been so forward in relieving such as implored their help, that they have lost their own Kingdoms for defending them.

DeHaillan lib. 24.

It is written in the Histories of *France*, that *Charles* the seventh having upon just occasion of offence and displeasure conceived against the Dolphin of *France* (who was his eldest son) banished him out of his Realm, and commanded that none of his Subjects or Friends should receive him: The Duke of *Burgundy* (who was then Vassal unto the French King, and mortal Enemy unto the Dolphin) did not only receive him, but also gave him leave to chuse what Castle, Hold, or City of his soever he would to dwell in: and sent presently Embassadors to his Father to make his excuse for receiving him.

Piero

Piero Mexias, in his Book of the lives of the *Roman* Emperours, reporteth, That the Emperour *Henry* the third, when as *Peter* King of *Hungary* was driven out of his Kingdom by his own Subjects, who for his evil Government had rebelled against him, did not only harbour and entertain him, but also restored him unto his Kingdom, although the same *Peter* not long before had favoured the Duke of *Bohemia*, who rebelled against the said Emperour.

Vida de
H. 3.

The King of *Cochin*, being required by the King of *Calicut* not to harbour his enemies which were fled unto him for succour; Answered, that he could not expel them out of his Cities, having received them upon his word; with which Answer the King of *Calicut* being highly displeased, wrot him a Letter full of great threats, whereat the King of *Cochin* laughed, and willed the Messenger to tell him, that he would not do that for fear of all his threats, which he vouchsafed not to do at his request; whereupon the King of *Calicut* suddenly prepared a great Army invaded the King of *Cochins* Realm, drave him out of his Kingdom, and enforced him to fly unto a certain Island of his own which was then in the hands of certain *Portugals*, by whom he not long after was again restored unto his Kingdom.

Our Chronicles report, That both *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third, offered great Rewards unto the Duke of *Brittan* to restore unto them *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who lived as a poor banished man within the Dukedom, but no money could win him to yeild unto their desire.

Holinshed.
Du Hailan
Polid. Virg.

The same Chronicles testifie, that the poor King of *Scots* received *Henry* the sixth, flying from the persecution of *Edward* the fourth, and entertained him with a yearly Pension, and aided him for the recovery of his Kingdom.

Holinshed.

David distrusting the protection of God, flyeth unto *Achich*, King of *Goth*, who giveth him *Siglag* to dwell in; And *Fetoboam* flying unto *Sibshack*, King of *Egypt*, was honourably received of him, and maintained there like a Prince, until *Rehoboam* was deprived for his cruelty, and he sent for out of *Egypt*, and made King of *Israel*.

Bible, in
2 Kings.
Chap. 12.

Frederick, King of *Naples*, being oppressed by his Uncle the King of *Spain*, fled unto the French King, unto whom he made grievous complaints of the Catholique King, because without any regard of the kindred and consanguinity that was betwixt them, he had endeavoured by all means possible to deprive him of the Moity of his Kingdom. *Lewis* the French King received him with great honour and courtesie, made him Duke of *Anjou*, and gave him 30000. Ducates of yearly Revenue. Our Chronicles and other Histories are full of a number of the like Examples, confirming the equity, and commending the clemency and gentleness of such Princes as have yeilded competent relief to their neighbours, to their enemies, to their Allies, and to meer strangers, being enforced to crave their aid and assistance. But hoping that these will suffice to satisfie and resolve you, I will forbear to enlarge this discourse with the superfluous and needless recital of others.

Illecas vida
de Alexan-
dro. 6.

It is commonly said that troubles come in post, and depart by leisure; And who so seeketh unquietness shall easily find it, and therefore considering the displeasure that is done to the adversary of him that is received into another Kings Realm and protection, the danger which the Receiver may incur, and the manifest wrongs which are sometimes done unto the

Recei-

Receiver by the received, together with their most unkind and unnatural Ingratitude; this kinde of charitie, is sometimes termed crueltie; this pity, peril, this favour extream folly, and this compassion a passion not agreeable to reason and Princely policy. Some Princes therefore weighing the perils that may follow the receiving of such Guests, or the aiding of Princes who were expelled or banished from their own Dominions, would neither receive them, nor succour them, unless they were well rewarded for their labour, to the end that such a reward might recompence the costs and charges which do necessarily depend upon the harbour and relict which is given unto them.

Biondo lib.
16.
Du Haillan
lib. 9.

Alexis, sometimes Emperour of *Greece*, being deprived of his Empire, could not obtain any manner of aid from the *Venetians*, the Marquess of *Montferrat*, and the King of *France*, until he had faithfully promised to pay the *Venetians* debts, to recompence with so much ready money the harms which the *Frenchmen* had sustained by the Emperour *Emanuel*, and to bestow the Earldom of *Candia* upon the forenamed Marquess.

Piero Me-
xias vide
Macrinus.

Macrinus, having slain the Emperour *Bassianus*, enjoyed the Empire; and his Son *Antoninus Heliogabalus* lived a long time in exile, until his Mother *Messa*, by great gifts and extraordinary liberality, won the Souldiers of *Macrinus*, and his best Captains and Colonels, to acknowledg him for the true and indubitate Heir of the Empire; and in regard thereof, and of the duty of the young child (whom for his Fathers sake they quickly affected) to deprive *Macrinus* of his usurped Diadem, and Imperial Authority.

Other Princes perhaps terrified with the perils that accompany and attend upon the harbouring of such distressed Princes, when they have once received them, either restore them to their enemies, or detain them as lawful Prisoners, or cause them to be secretly murdered.

Du Haillan
lib. 1.

So did *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, send King *Stagrius*, who fled unto him for succour, back again unto *Clevis* King of *France*, his mortal enemy.

Jul. Cesar
lib. 3.

So did *Tolony* cause *Pompey* to be murdered, who fled unto him as unto his ancient and faithful friend, from the wrath and indignation of *Julius Cesar*.

Tecapha de
Regibus
Hispan.

So did *Peter* King of *Castile* murder *Rubeus* King of *Granado*, for the greedy desire which he had of the infinite Treasure which *Rubeus* brought into *Castile* with him.

Justin. lib.
17.

So did *Ptolomy* imprison *Antiochus*, who trusting him rather than his Brother *Seleucus* (whom he had many ways and times grievously offended) fled unto him from the heavy displeasure and persecution of King *Eumenes*.

Holinshed.
Polid. Virg.

So briefly did *Henry* the fifth King of *England*, detain *James* afterward King of *Scotland*, prisoner many years, who flying from the unnatural persecution of his Uncle, who had deposed his Father, and usurped the Crown, was driven by tempest into *England*.

These Examples varying much from the former; And these Princes observing a quite contrary course unto that which the before-named Kings observed, maketh this question very doubtful; Whether it be lawful and commendable in Princes to receive and harbour another Prince who flyeth unto him for succour: But if humanity deserveth always more commendations then cruelty; if it be true that the Poet saith.

Turpius

Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur Hospes.

If Princes were first ordained and instituted to yeild relief to as many as were distressed; If God most commonly blessed them who yeilded such relief, and contrariwise punished those who exercised no kind of humanity towards them. Briefly, if wiser Princes have received them then have rejected them, this doubt is easily dissolved, and this difficulty quickly removed.

Now that humanity which is incident unto men, is to be preferred before cruelty, which is proper unto brut beasts, is a thing so apparent to common sense, that I hold him for senseless that doubteth thereof; and what is he who blameth him not for incivility, who having received his friend into his house, and being very well able to relieve him, excludeth him without any occasion of discontentment offered by him: Or who is so ignorant, that knoweth not there is nothing more answerable unto the principal cause and motive of the first institution of Kings, then it is to succour as many as have need of their help: And our Chronicles do testify, that God plagued the posterity of *Henry* the fifth, for his extremity used unto the poor distressed Prince of *Scotland*; and the French Histories do declare, that God never prospered *Lewis* surnamed *Oulstremer*, King of *France*, because he had dealt discourteously and unkindly with the Infant *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, whom he had received into his safe custody and protection: And to be short, the wisdom of those Princes who have harboured their Neighbours and Allies, are commended beyond all measure by the Writers who mention them; whereas their folly is reprehended, and their cruelty blamed, who rejected those of whom I lately made mention, and all histories shall sooner perish, then their infamy be forgotten. But to reconcile the contrarieties of the precedent examples, and to clear the difficulty of this question, I think it not amiss to descend from the general argument to a particular supposition; for so the controversie will soon be determined: Suppose therefore (for example sake) that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* being in fast League of friendship together, there ariseth a variance betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Navarra*; from this variance they fall to wars, of these wars follow the overthrow of the *Navarrois*; after that overthrow he flyeth unto the King of *Spain* for refuge: May the Spanish King in this case receive and harbour him? To this demand it is not possible to make a good and an absolute answer, unless the cause of the Wars betwixt *France* and *Navarra*, and the kind of Alliance betwixt *France* and *Spain*, be well and sufficiently known; for, the nature and quality of the one and the other, may make the receipt and entertainment of the *Navarrois* lawful or unlawful: If the French King had just occasion to war against the *Navarrois*, because he was wronged by him, or by some of his; and the League betwixt *Spain* and *France* bound the Kings of both places not to receive one anothers enemies, but that the one should hold him for his foe, which was, or is adversary to the other. Then doubtless except the King of *France* of his part had first committed some Act contrary and repugnant unto the conditions of the Alliance, whereby the same was broken and violated, the Spaniard could not lawfully receive the *Navarrois*: But contrarywise, if the aforementioned Wars were unjust, and the League not so streight as Alliances, which are both

T. Walsing.
in his *New-
stria*.
DuHaillan.

offensive and defensive are, then might the Spaniard without breach of his duty harbour the *Navarrois*, especially if the French King had before the receipt violated the conditions of the League; for as Bonds and Obligations betwixt private men tye not the Obligee to other things then are mentioned in the conditions; so Leagues betwixt Princes, do not prohibit them to do any thing that is not expressly or by implication forbidden by the Articles of those Leagues.

That
Leagues are
no longer
inviolable
then until
there is
some advantage
given
to break
them.

Besides (as the world is now adays) Leagues are of no longer continuance then there is some profit or commodity arising or proceeding from them, and as soon as the breach of them may be certainly and assuredly profitable and advantagious unto the breaker, they are not so religiously observed as they have been in times past, but some colour or other is presently pretended to justify their unlawful violation. You have heard what a strait League was concluded betwixt the French King and *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* touching the Kingdom of *Naples*, and also what occasion was taken to break the same, as soon as *Gonsalvo* (surnamed the great Captain) had the French General at an advantage. But I think I have not as yet acquainted you with the colour and pretence which was used to excuse the breach thereof; the which, because it now cometh fity to the purpose, I purpose to declare unto you.

Guicciard.
lib. 5. 6. 2.

Ferdinando and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain*, being accused by the French King, that they had unlawfully broken the League of Friendship which was straitly concluded betwixt *Spain* and *France* against all enemies whatsoever, that should attempt any thing against the Kingdom of *Naples*, being equally divided (as you have heard) betwixt the two Crowns, alledged for their excuse, that amongst other Articles of their League and Agreement this clause was inserted: That they should not be bound to any thing that might be prejudicial unto the See of *Rome*; and that therefore the Pope having required them, as Sovereign Lord of that Kingdom, to succour the distressed Kingdom of *Naples*, they could do no less, but yielded unto his request, and with this Cautele, contrary to their former promise made unto the French King, the said King and Queen entred into confederacy and league against *France*, with the Pope, with the *Venetians*, and with the Duke of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Ferara* would not openly enter into this League, but cunningly, and with an Italian devise and subtilty, he suffered his Son to serve the Duke of *Milan* as his Lieutenant General with 150 men at Armes. A few more Examples like unto this will give some better light unto the obscurity and doubtfulness of this question, and therefore I will afford you some such examples.

Polid. Virg.
lib. 19.

Edward the third King of *England* espying a time of great advantage to invade *Scotland*, because he might be the less blamed if he should take the same occasion, publicly protested, that he was not in League with the *Scot*, because the League betwixt them was fully agreed and concluded upon in his minority, and while he being under Age, had not the capacity to perceive the disadvantage and great harm that grew unto him by the same League. The *Scots* and *Picts* being in League with the ancient *Britanes*, and spying a convenient time to molest them, whilest *Maximianus* the Emperour was absent, invaded the Realm, and pretended that they were not bound to the League concluded betwixt them and *Maximianus* if he were once out of the Kingdom. The same people notwithstanding

Hest. Bott.
lib. 7.

ing their League, invaded the *Brittanes* another time, saying that the League was at an end by the death of *Placitus* the Roman Lieutenant, who had concluded the same League.

The *Brittans* in the time of King *Arthur*, entred into League with *Lothus* King of the *Picts*, and bound themselves to receive *Aludred* a *Pict*, for heir and successeur unto King *Arthur*, but when *Arthur* was dead, (contrary to the Covenants of this League) they made *Constantius*, and not *Aludred* their King, and being accused of the said *Picts*, for breach of the said League, they answered, that the League betwixt *Lothus* and *Arthur* was fastened unto this condition, that as soon as the one or the other dyed, the Subjects of neither of them should be tyed any longer thereunto, adding further, that it stood not with policy to admit a Stranger to bear rule and government over them. The examples are infinite that might be alledged to this purpose, but these few may suffice to shew the proneness and ready good will of Princes to falsifie their Faith, and to colour the breach thereof with some reasonable shew and pretence, when they found it not commodious or convenient for them to hold every Covenant and Article of their Agreements: Now having seen by this that hath been said already, that Leagues are lightly broken, it resteth for the better strengthening of my purpose, that I declare unto you by such examples as shall presently come unto my memory, what occasions one Allie hath taken to be offended with another, and how upon such occasions offered, of great friends they have become mortal enemies. For hereby you shall see (that since Princes are most commonly led and ruled by examples, insomuch that they hold all things to be well done, which (not being apparently unjust or dishonest) are done by example) that our Queen notwithstanding the ancient continuance of the League that hath been between the Crown of *England*, and the house of *Burgundy*, of which the King of *Spain* pretendeth himself to be lawful Heir, may most lawfully fall from the same, and by many and infinite Presidents justifie the receipt of the King of *Portugal*, and the aid given unto him. I find many causes in such Histories as I have read, which have moved princes who were conjoyned together in a very straight League of Amity and Friendship, to fall at variance, and either to war one upon another, or to associate themselves each one with the Foes and Adversaries of the other.

Idem lib. 9.

Idem.

Princes for lawful occasions may, & have bin offended with their confederates and leave them.

Julius Caesar although the Romans were in League with the people which were anciently called *Lingones*, yet he held them, yea and used them as Enemies, because they aided the *Helvetians* (which are now called *Swizzers*) with corn and other provision. Other Princes have taken occasion of offence against their Allies and Confederates, because they have fallen to Agreement with their common Enemies and Adversaries without their content or privy.

So was Pope *Sextus* the fourth highly displeased with *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, because he not making him privy thereunto, had agreed all matters of variance and controversie betwixt himself, and *Laurence de medicis*, and the City of *Florence*.

Illeceas vida de Sexto 4.

So did *Lewis* the twelfth of *France* justly complain of Pope *Julius* the second, because at what time *France* stood in most need of him, he compounded the differences betwixt the Church and their common Enemies, and for this injury offered unto him, published bills and books of greivous complaints against him, saying that he was worthy to be deprived of his Popedom.

Idem vida de Julio. 2.

Idem vida
de Leon. 10

Idem ibid.
Paulus Jo-
vius. l. 26.

Illeſcas in the life of Pope *Leo* the tenth, reporteth, That the *Venetians* being in League with the King of *Spain* againſt the *French* King, departed from their Alliance with the Spaniard, and allied themſelves with the *French* King, for no other occaſion but becauſe *Proſpero Colona*, one of the Captains of the Spaniſh Army, did not preſently give unto them *Breſſia*, which he had taken from the *French* King, and ſhould (as it ſeemed) have been reſtored unto the *Venetians* as ſoon as it was taken. Sometimes it falleth out that many occaſions meet at one time to move a Prince to relinquish and leave the ſide and party of his confederate: Many cauſes enforced Pope *Leo* the tenth to leave the *French* King, and to join with *Charls* the fifth. Firſt his unſatiabſe deſire to recover *Parma* and *Placentia*. The pity he took of *Italy*, to ſee what miſery it endured under the *French*. Thirdly, The good will he had to gratifie the Emperour for the great love which he ſhewed at the Diet holden at *Wormes*, unto the See of *Rome*. Fourthly, his indignation and diſpleaſure conceived againſt *Monſieur Lotreth*, Governour of *Milan*, becauſe he did not only moleſt and trouble the poor *Millanois*, with a thouſand vexations and grievances, but alſo gave all the Benefices, Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Livings, within the Dukedom of *Milan*, without the Popes leave and licence; And further, becauſe he had had given commandment that no man ſhould appear upon any Citation ſent from *Rome*, nor ſhould go thither to follow any Suit or Proceſs begun or moved there. And laſtly the remembrance of thoſe injuries which were done by the King of *France* unto his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially unto *Peter* and *Lawrence de Medicis*, his Father and his Brother.

Idem vida
de Cle-
ment. 7.

Here you ſee the Pope (whom the reſt of *Italy* moſt commonly followeth) partly moved with a juſt hatred againſt the *Frenchmen*; and partly fearing their overgrowing power in *Italy*; to prevent the hateful increaſe of their greatneſs, leaveth them, and joyneth himſelf unto their enemies. Now you ſhal ſee another Pope, named *Clement* the ſeventh, and with him alſo the *Venetians*, finding that *Charls* the fifth (with whom *Leo* the tenth allied himſelf againſt the *French* King) yeildeth not, accordingly as he was bound, the inveſtiture of the Dukedom of *Milan*, unto *Francis Sforza*, who promiſed to give him for the ſame ſix hundred thouſand Ducates, and to marry with whomſoever it ſhould pleaſe him; and alſo to hold the Dukedom at his devotion; And further, conjecturing by the on-ſet which he gave upon *France*, and by the great Power and Authority which he had even then in *Italy*, that he went about to make himſelf Lord of the moſt part of the world; And ſeeing that *Francis* the firſt, King of *France*, had lately won *Milan* from the ſaid Emperour, they entred into League with the *French* King againſt *Charls* the fifth, as ſecretly as they might poſſible: You have heard before how *Leo* the tenth, taking the kindneſs ſhewed unto him by the Emperour, at the Diet of *Worms* very kindly, was moved thereby to leave the *French* party, and to become one of the Emperours Faction.

Idem de
Paulo. 3.

Now you ſhall hear how Pope *Paulus* the third, having the Cardinal *Farnexius* for his Embaſſadour with the ſaid Emperour, and finding that his Maſteſty had proclaimed a Diet to be held at *Wormes*, touching the deciding of certain matters and controverſies of Religion, took it in ſo evil a part: that the Emperour would intermeddle with the hearing of ſpiritual cauſes, the cognizance whereof belonged unto the Pope; that he commanded

ded the said Cardinal to depart from the Emperours Court without taking leave of his Majesty, and to leave the Cardinal *Marcello Corvino* in his place; which was an indignity never offered unto any Prince, unto whom either the Embassadour or his Majesty bear any love or affection. This evil conceit of the said *Paulus Tertius* towards the same Emperour was encreased by three special Causes.

The first because the Emperour to strengthen himself against the above named French King, had lately entred into League and Alliance with *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, who was then fallen from that obedience which the See of *Rome* looked for at his hands.

The second because *Cesar* had so quickly forgotten the wrong done unto his Aunt, lately divorced from the same King.

The third because the Emperor would neither sell unto him the Dukedom of *Milan*, nor make his Son *Pier Lewis*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

I might proceed in the recital of many other Examples like unto these, but from these you may sufficiently gather, that the wisest, both Popes, Emperours, and Kings, that ever lived of late years, have made it a matter of small or no conscience to break their Leagues for very small occasions, especially if they found that any King or Emperour, by reason of their League, presuming to finde no resistance able to withstand his intent and purpose, went about to inroach upon other Princes, and to make himself Lord of the world: You may also perceive by the mutability and inconstancy of the Princes of *Italy*, and of their falling from *France* to *Spain*, and again from *Spain* to *France*; how greatly they fear the greatness of the one or the other in *Italy*, how ready they have been to supplant him that waxeth great amongst them; and how careless, negligent and secure they are now, since they notwithstanding (not as their predecessors always did before them) the aspiring Ambition of the Spaniard. Moreover these Examples may teach you what opinion was conceived of *Charls* the fifth; what jealousy and suspicion other Princes had of him, and what an high and aspiring mind he carryed; The which having left as an Inheritance to his Son, with a number of precepts forged in so dangerous and ambitious a conceipt; no marvel though he do somewhat imitate his Father. But great marvel it is why the Princes of our Age do not foresee and fear in him the same minde, the same desire, the same ambition, and the same purposes which were in his Father. But the more careless other Princes are herein, the more commendations our Gracious Sovereign deserveth, who for better then these thirty five years hath (as I have said often, and cannot say too often) mightily crossed his endeavours without the help of any other that ever would vouchsafe to joyn with her Majestie in so honorable an Action. Neither may it be imputed to her Highness as a fault, that she hath forgotten the ancient league which was betwixt the house of *Burgundie* and her Predecessors, but rather, as he amongst private men, is highly commended, who forsaketh his dearest friends in their unjust causes, and when they go about to oppress and overthrow their Neighbours, so her gracious Majestie is worthy of everlasting praise and fame, because it hath pleased her Highness to prefer the justice and equitie of good causes, before the iniquity of any League or confederacie. Besides, since that the League (that was betwixt *England* and *Burgundy*) was (as it may be gathered by the Chronicles of both Nations)

Holinshed.
Pol. Virg.
DuHaillan.

Dinothus
de bello
Belgico.

tions) rather with the people subject unto the Princes of *Burgundy*, then with the Princes themselves, her Majesty continuing in Amitie with the States and People of the United Provinces, and being ready to do the like (if the like occasion were offered) with the other of the seventeen Provinces, doth not any thing in the prejudice of the Antiquitie of that League, but as her Predecessors have done before her, (as namely *Edward* the third, and *Richard* the second) her Majesty hath thought it meet and convenient to stand with the poor and afflicted people against the unkind and unnaturall crueltie and oppression of their Sovereign. The which action being most commendable, and such as might be approved by infinite Examples; they do her Highness great wrong, who, not considering the indignities, wrongs, and injuries done unto her by the late house of *Spain*, and not remembring the first occasion of displeasure between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, to have risen from *Spain*, blame her Majesty as the first breaker of that ancient League. These men, besides many other things which are already refuted, or remain to be fully answered hereafter in their severall and fit places, more maliciously then wisely object unto her Majesty, that about the year 1569. her Ships intercepted 59 chests full of Ryals of *Spain*, amounting unto the sum and value of eight hundred thousand Ducats, which were sent unto the Duke of *Alva* out of *Spain* to pay his souldiers withal, the which wrong gave (as they affirm) the first or greatest occasion of breach of amity and friendship betwixt *Spain* and *England*: For by the intercepting of this money the Souldiers were disappointed of their pay, and the Kings credit and authority was greatly impaired and weakened in the Low Countries. But those men neither consider that *Spain* had long before this time offered great wrong unto *England*, nor remember that when the Spaniard complained unto her Majesty hereof, that it was wisely and sufficiently answered; That her Majesty understanding that the said money was sent to pay certain debts of the Spanish Kings, which he owed unto divers Merchants of *Genova*, who being well able to spare the same, and her Highness having urgent occasion to use so much, thought she might be so bold (as the Spaniard had been) to borrow the said money for a small time, paying them (as he did) some yearly consideration for it: Which Answer might well have contented the King of *Spain*, since the said Merchants at no time had any cause why they should not credit her Highness as well as him: Nor did they weigh the violent and extraordinary dealing of the Duke of *Alva*, who as soon as he heard the news of the intercepting of the said money, commanded all our English Merchants that were then in *Antwerp*, or elsewhere in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, to be detained as prisoners, seized upon their goods and Merchandizes, and willed that the English house should be kept by a Guard of High-Dutchmen, and presently wrote unto the King his Master to detain all our Merchants in *Spain*; and further, knowing that there were divers English Ships in *Zeland*, laden with Cloth and other Merchandize of great worth and value, he caused them likewise to be stayed, and neither they, nor our Merchants in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Zeland* or *Spain*, were dismissed before the king of *Spain* was fully satisfied, which might easily be done; the very Cloth it self which was transported out of *England* into those Countries, being almost worth the sum that was pretended (God knoweth how truly) to be taken away from the Spaniard: For although we should grant that this money was wrongfully taken

taken and detained by her Majesty; yet the order which the Duke of *Alva* took for the recovery thereof, was not to be justified: He ought first to have acquainted his Master with the taking thereof; Then an Embassadour should have been sent from him into *England* to demand restitution thereof: And lastly, if her Grace had denied the restoring of the same, or not sufficiently satisfied the taking of it, the course which was taken had not been amiss: But here the Cart went before the Horse, and judgment was given before the Cause was heard. Now because our Merchants lived quietly in the Low Countries, as well before as after the taking of this money, because they enjoyed their Priviledges as largely as ever they did; because we had daily Traffique with *Spain*, and the Kings Embassadours remained then and many years after in *England*; (All which are Arguments and probable Conjectures, that there was peace betwixt us and *Spain*) the intercepting of this money will still seem unlawful, unless it be shewed that the Spaniard hath given her Majesty some just occasion of discontentment before the time of taking thereof. Truly it cannot be denied that our Merchants had Traffique (as it is said) in *Spain*, and elsewhere under the Spanish Dominions; but not for any love to our Prince or Nation, but in regard of the great benefit that they brought unto the King and to his Countries, which could not well stand or at the least wise (as late experience hath shewed) flourished as they did without them: Witness the misery of *Antwerp* at this present; the poverty of *Burges*, and the calamity of many other Towns, both in *Brabant*, and in *Flanders*, which as long as they were haunted and frequented by Englishmen, yeilded to few Towns and Cities of Christendom for wealth and prosperity. Witness again *Middleboroug*, *Vlushing*, *Amsterdam* and other Towns in *Holland* and *Zeland*, which before the departure of our Englishmen from those Towns which are now under the King of *Spain*, and before their Traffique in *Holland* and *Zeland*, had not the tenth part of the wealth or resort of Merchants thither, which they have at this present; in so much that many Towns in these two Provinces are of late years made larger, yea twice as big as they were wont to be. Witness lastly, the great wealth, power and strength which the States of the United Provinces are grown unto since they have cast off the yoke of Spanish Tyrannical Government, entred into strait League with our most gracious Queens Majesty, and hath had Traffique with her loving Subjects; for which the small aid which they have had from us (small indeed in comparison of their great charges) and with the yearly Revenues which they gather by the resort of Merchants thither; it is seen of late that they are become so mighty, as that for provision of Wars, for strength by Sea, for Munition, for all kind of furniture for Wars, both by Sea and Land, and especially by Sea, they may almost compare with the mightiest Prince in the world. Have they not of late years boarded the Spaniard? did they not when he sent his Invincible Army into *England*, stand us in great stead? Have they not won many Towns which were lost and betrayed in the time of the late Earl of *Leicesters* being there, when they had far greater help and countenance by us then they have had of late? Briefly, have they not, and do they not carry themselves so of late years, that it may not only grieve the Spaniard, but also all the Princes of Christendom, that he hath given them so just and good occasion to know and to use their own strength. For, if the chiefest Towns of *France*, which are grown

grown to such an humor and liking of encantonizing themselves, as it hath been thought meet to publish many reasons in print to shew the great inconveniences and difficulties which they should incurre and find in so doing; if I say, these Towns should enter into consideration of the wealth and prosperity of the said States and their Subjects, and after due examination of their happiness, follow their examples; and so in time cast off the yoke, servitude, and obedience, which time out of mind they have owed, and most dutifully shewed unto their Kings; would it not be a very ill president, a dangerous imitation, and a most pernicious example? Should not other Princes have just cause to suspect and fear the like change and alteration in their kingdoms? And were it not greatly to be doubted and feared, that other Subjects would be as ready, as forward, as desirous as they of liberty, of alteration, and of a new kind of Government? Nay, was there not a time, when almost at one time all the Subjects of *Europe*, not seeing so much as they may now see, jumped so well in one desire to free themselves from their subjection unto Kings and Princes, as that all Kings and Princes were enforced to joyn together in strength and in good will to suppress them? The danger therefore of this inconvenience only, being well and wisely considered, all the Princes of *Europe* have great occasion to be offended with the Spaniard, who by his unjust severity hath in some manner endangered all their States and royal Principalities. But hereof more conveniently hereafter in another place.

Now again to my purpose. The Subjects of the United Provinces travell dayly into *Spain*, they carry thither and fetch thence many commodities, they only abstain from carrying and bringing of things necessary and profitable for the maintenance of Wars. May any man, considering the premises, and seeing how they and the Spaniards fight dayly one against another at home, and within their own Countries, say truly that there is no War betwixt them? No verily, it is not the entercourse of Merchants, nor the residence of Leaguers and Embassadours that alwayes proveth peace betwixt Princes: The one is permitted and entertained for commodities sake, and for the benefit of the Subjects on both parts, yea, for the better maintenance of the Wars: And the other is used and practised for his great advantage, whose Embassadour can carry himself most wisely and most cunningly. For Embassadours are (as *Phil. de Comines* said very well) but honourable Espies, and therefore it is usual to let them remain and reside in Princes Courts, not only after the rupture and breach of peace, but also sometimes when they are at mortal Wars, that they may be Mediators of peace. Send therefore saith *de Comines*, Embassadours unto thine Enemies, even when thou art at most deadly feud with them: For, though thy charges in sending be great, and thy Adversaries be wary and circumspect in foreseeing they shall do nothing to their prejudice; yet if those whom thou sendest be wise, they cannot chuse but learn something that may be very beneficial unto them, and countervail their expences, The reading of Histories hath taught me, that Embassadours are sent from one Prince to another even in the hottest times of their Wars, sometimes to demand a convenient place of parley.

Cæsar
Comment.

So *Cæsar* sent unto his enemy *Ariovistus* to require him to appoint some convenient place where they might meet and confer of matters concerning the profit of himself, and of *Ariovistus*; sometimes to require and offer conditions of peace. So *Druis* was sent Embassadour unto *Cæsar*

to desire peace at his hands: sometimes to spie and sound the affections of Subjects. So *Hannibal* when he was coming into *Italy*, sent certain Embassadors unto the French King, being then subject unto the Romans, to enquire of their affections, and to see how they might be disposed and perswaded o suffer him to pass the *Alpes* quietly, and to behold where he might pass them with least danger. But I shall have occasion to handle this matter more largely hereafter. And therefore from it again to my purpose.

The taking of the fore-mentioned money is the matter that is most urged, and therefore must be more sufficiently answered. This is the sore that gauleth, the wound that grieveth, the corrosive that groweth. To this therefore I will adde another Plaister. It shall not suffice that the money intercepted was taken and esteemed not to be the King of *Spain*; but to belong unto certain Merchants of *Genoa*; that Allegation shall not go for sufficient and lawful payment; but it shall be added, yea and proved (for an Embassador was sent by her Majesty into *Spain* of purpose) that her Highness complained unto the King of *Spain* of the great wrong that was done by the Duke of *Alva* unto her Majesty and unto her Subjects upon an unjust occasion of displeasure taken against her Grace and them for that money; which if the King (although it was certain it appertained unto those Merchants) would needs have it, it was offered unto him by the said Embassador, that it should be restored, so that her Highness Subjects might enjoy their ancient Liberties and Priviledges within the Spanish Dominions, and also a restitution might be made by the Duke of *Alva* for all that was wrongfully detained from them: And the same Embassador added further, that it was never her Majesties mind to offend the Catholick king, nor to provoke him to wrath and anger, whose Friendship she knew might be a great help and honour unto her. What might her Majesty have said more lovingly? or what better satisfaction could the king of *Spain* demand? Was he displeased because her Majesty gave no better audience unto the Duke of *Alva* his Secretary, who was sent to admonish her Majesty not to meddle with any matter belonging to his Master? Why, his cros and rash dealing deserved no favour at her hands, and made his Masters Subjects fare far worse then otherwise they should have done in *England*. For her Highness hearing that the Duke had made stay of her Merchants, and of their Goods, to beeven with him, commanded that all the Merchants strangers that then lived in *England*, and were Subjects to the King of *Spain*, should likewise be arrested, and their Goods attached; and strait Commandment was given unto our Merchants, that they should forbear to traffique into any place subject unto the Spanish Dominion, until the Kings pleasure was fully known what should become of our Merchants. Here you see that the unordinary and unkind proceeding of the Duke of *Alva*, was occasion of greater unkindness then should have proceeded of so small a matter: For, if he had forborn to arrest our Merchants, and to attach their Goods, until his Masters pleasure had been known, his Kings Embassadors had had better audience, and his Subjects had been free from inconveniences and harms, as they suffered by his default. For after he had rashly and unadvisedly layed hands upon our Merchants and their Merchandizes, her Grace could do no less then she did, especially since the Lawes of her Realm have provided, that her Subjects being restrained, in the like manner shall

That the intercepting of the Spaniards money sent many years ago into Flanders gave him no just cause of quarrel against *England*.

have recourse unto her Highness, as unto her chief Justice, and there demand, that the Subjects of a forraign Prince who hath offered wrong or violence unto them and their Goods, be presently attached in *England*, until our Merchants and their Goods be released and set at liberty by that Prince: So the blame in this case must lye upon the Duke of *Alva*, who when this occasion of rupture and variance was growing betwixt our Queen and his King, should have wisely dissembled the same, and quickly have extinguished the flames of the displeasure and discontentment that was likely to burn betwixt them.

For a Servant and Counsellor may offend as well in being too forward, as in being too slow in his Masters business, as I shall have occasion to shew more at large hereafter; the which when I shall handle, will give light unto this matter, and fully and thoroughly cleer the same. Now to the proof that the King of *Spain* did before the intercepting of this money, give her Majesty just occasion to seize upon the same, and to detain it, although it had been much more then it was, for her own use and benefit. It is since the taking of this money some four and twenty years agoe, and therefore if it may be proved that long before that time the Spaniard hath dealt more like an enemy then a friend with her Majesty; I think it will follow that she might justly have done him, even then, and before then, far greater despight then ever she did.

Dionotus
de bello
Belgico.

When the late French King suffered the Duke of *Alencon*, his Brother to take upon him the Title of the Duke of *Brabant*, and the defence of those Countries, he sent an Embassadour into *Spain* to excuse his Brothers going thither, and to signifie unto the Spanish King that all that was there done was done without his Counsel and Privity; The Spanish King was highly displeased with this Message, and answered the Embassadour, that he had rather have the French King a profess'd enemy, then a dissembling friend; And not satisfied with the indignity of this disdainful Answer, he sent presently after him another Embassadour into *France*, to tell the King thereof; That the Spaniards were not so foolish and so unwise, as not to see and perceive, that whatsoever the Duke of *Alencon* did, was done by permission, counsel, consent, and furtherance of the King his Brother. Out of this Answer, and this Embassage, I gather thus much: That it is better for a Prince to have an open enemy, then a deceitful friend: And to prove the Spaniard to have been always such a friend unto the State of *England*, I use these Demonstrations.

First, It is not unknown (as I have said before) all the Treasons and Conspiracies which have been attempted, intended and practised against her Majesty, ever since her first coming to the Crown, have had their beginning or their comfort, their counsel or their furtherance, their countenance, or their invention from *Spain*; Witness (to omit others of lesser moment, and yet of most dangerous consequence) the Treasons of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, since whose death it is better then twenty years, and more then forty since he first began to be a Traytor. Is it not more then twenty one years ago that *Robert Rudolphy*, a *Florentine* Merchant (who had lived many years in *England*) departed out of *England*, for fear that the Duke being committed to prison, should reveal the practises and means which he had used by the solicitation of the King of *Spain*, and of the Pope, to draw the Duke unto those Treasons which he afterwards intended, and had executed, had he not been happily discovered? did not the

the same *Redolphy* go from hence to *Rome*? and there cummunicated with the Pope how the Duke was apprehended, and thereby their Plot and device broken and prevented? Was he not sent from *Rome* into *Spain*, there to make the same relation, and to consult with the Spanish king what means might be used for the liberty of the said Duke, and if that might not be happily wrought and effected, for some other kind of of annoyance to be done to *England*? Was it not publicly noised, and certainly beleaved, that the Duke of *Alva* should have joined with the said Duke, and have done us more wo then I may boldly speak of, and my heart can even without extream grief to relate or remember? Witness again the most unnatural praïses of the late Queen of *Scots*; unnatural, because she was a Queen as her Majesty was, because she was her neer kinswoman, and her Vassal beholding unto her Highness for her life, and for the life of her own only child, which unto good and loving Parents is always more dear then their own life. Lived not this unthankful, ungracious, and unfortunate Queen, more then twenty years prisoner in *England*? and which of all those years lived her Majesty free from some Treason or other? But heretof in another place.

Now let it suffice that it is apparent to all the world that she had secret Messengers, secret help and counsel from *Spain*, as well before as after her Imprisonment, to animate, encourage, and set her forward in all her mischievous endeavours and purposes against our gracious Sovereign, and her Realms. Is not then the Spaniard a deceitful friend unto *England*? Is he not then, by his own confession, more to be feared, and more to be disliked then an open enemy? Or are not we so wise as the Spaniard, to see and perceive such deceitful proceedings? and seeing them shall it not not be lawful for us to think of him as he thought of the king of *France*? and to deal so with *Spain*, as he dealt and dealeth with *France*? such justice as a Magistrate useth unto others, such must he expect himself, saith the Emperour *Iustinian*: He that seeketh dayly to increase his own power, purchaseth to himself envy and hatred; So said *Sabellicus*, The Prince that desireth Cities that are far off, cannot but covet those which are near at hand; So said *Leo Aretinus*; and it is hard and difficult to beware of such friends which secretly play the part of enemies; So said *Dionisius Hallicarnesus*. If therefore the king of *Spain* hath nourished civil dissention in *France*; if he hath been so ready to maintain the Rebels thereof against their King, that rather then the Realm should be without troubles, he hath relieved and succoured the very Protestants of *France*, and the heads of their Faction against their Sovereign, and other their professed enemies: And if he hath done all this to the end the French king might not be able to encroach upon him in *Italy*, *Flanders*, or any other of his Dominions: Why may not our Queen, who as a woman is fearful, and timorous, and, as a Prince ought to be, careful and provident for the safety of her Realm, and of her Subjects, relieve the States of the United Provinces, being her ancient friends and Allies, to the end that he Spaniard being busied in those parts, may have no time, leisure, or commodity, to work any manner of open or secret prejudice unto her Realm, and her Subjects? *Dionothus* a true Historiographer of the civil Wars in *Flanders*, reporteth, That when the King of *Spains* Embassador said unto the late French King, that it was neither seemly, nor convenient for his Majesty to receive the States who were Rebels unto his Master; The French king Answered him, that

Dionothus
de bello
Belgico.

that he neither received nor harboured them as Rebels unto his Master but as men wrongfully oppressed; and that Christian Princes have always used to grant and give help and succour unto the oppressed: And further that the States had assured him, that they had oftentimes sent many supplications unto their King, therein submitting themselves unto his mercy, and humbly beseeching his Majesty to remit their offences, and to receive them into his favour; yea, and when they might have any commodity, they delivered themselves such supplication unto the Kings own hands, but could never have any reasononable Answer from him. And that therefore it was lawful for them to appeal from him that denyed them justice, and to seek aid against him, where they might hope to find the same. If then the king of *France*, a Prince of contrary Religion unto the States; a Prince of as neer Alliance, and of later Affinity, unto the Spanish king, then our Queen is; a Prince that in his own Realm could never endure Protestants, because he thought it very dangerous to suffer two Religions in one Kingdom, held it the part of a Christian Prince to succour the oppressed, and to be their Protector, unto whom justice was openly denyed: Why should it be a fault imputed unto our Queen, that she releeveth her oppressed neighbours, since she doth it not in malice towards the Spaniards, but in mercy towards the afflicted; not so much to offend him, as to defend them, not to enlarge her Dominions, but to preserve her Realms and Subjects; for how can she think that the Spaniard desireth not her Kingdoms, who sheweth many and manifest signs that he affecteth the Rule and Empire of all the world? Why should she not envy and hate him who seeketh to encrease his power, to the end he may be the better able to annoy her? And how can she be too wary, too circumspect, too watchful over such a friend (if he will needs be taken as a friend) who watcheth and snatcheth, every little and great, secret, and coulourable occasion, to play her the part of a deadly and a mortal enemy? Shall she take him for a friend, that seeketh to murder her person, to estrange her Subjects, to destroy her Realms? The first, confirmed by the Treasons before mentioned: The second proved by the pernicious and detestable Book published by *Dr Allen*, wherein he exhorteth, teacheth, and licenseth her Subjects to rebel against her, and had for his labour a Cardinalship, procured by the Spaniard: The last lately verified, and manifested by the hostile attempt and violence of his invincible Navy, gathered together in seven years space, compounded of all Nations, and reported to have conquered before it came to the place where it meant to conquer; and yet by our Might, and the Almighty assistance, happily and speedily conquered.

It is truly written, or wisely fained, That *Hercules* (a man exceeding common mens stature; a man blessed with more then ordinary good fortune; a man of rare vertues, and of admirable force and strength) went up and down the world walking with a mighty Club in his hand, and wandering from place to place, only to subdue and chastise Tyrants; and this true History, or wise Fiction, tendeth to no other purpose, is reported for no other cause, but to signifie that oppression is hateful, and oppressors hated; that affliction craveth compassion, and afflicted persons are worthy of mercy; and that to subvert the one is laudable, and to succour the other is lawful: Then if (as *Cornelius Tacitus* saith) other men direct their counsels to things that they think may and will be profitable

unto

unto them; but Princes are and must be of another condition, because all their actions must tend to the affectation and purchasing of Fame and Renown; The Prince that succoureth the oppressed, and seeketh to supplant the oppressor, worketh a deed of Charity, an action of Piety, a work of commendation; and in working thereof, bendeth his counsels, and directeth his actions unto the attaining of true honour and everlasting fame: Then (if as *Polibus* saith) he that hath not compassion of other mens harms, must not hope that any man shall have pity of his miseries; Princes, because there is *quedam rerum vicissitudo*, and fortune was never at all times favourable, although they be in the highest degree of felicity, must not presume too much on their own good fortune, nor condemn those that are in miseries, lest that if they chance to fall, no man will vouchsafe to help them up again: Then if (as *Thucidides* saith) he is not only a Tyrant that enforceth his Subjects to live in bondage and servitude, but he also that may withstand another mans violence, and do not withstand the same: Princes which see their neighbours violently oppressed, and as idle lookers on yeild them no manner of reliefe and succour when they may conveniently help them, and in danger to be esteemed and reputed Tyrants; Then if (as *Zenophon* saith) it be not lawful to break faith with him that falsifieth his word and promise; Princes that withhold not their helping hands from the oppressed, because they have been and are in League with the Oppressor, who hath violated his faith unto them, and unto others, are not to be condemned of wrong and iniquity; Then if (as *Iosephus* saith) patience and long suffering of an injury maketh the wrong-doer most commonly ashamed of his actions; the Prince that cannot be intreated to leave off his wrong doing may well be ashamed thereof; Then if (as *Bartholomeus Facius* saith) women-kind, the weaker and more fearful it is, the readier it is to beleive any credible report, her Majesty is not to be blamed for crediting the just complaints of the oppressed States, unto which the late King of *France* did (as you have heard) give open ear, and would (as it is credibly reported) have vouchsafed sufficient relief, had he not been letted by domestical dissensions and wars, nourished and maintained of purpose by the Spaniard because he should not be able to yeild them relief and succor.

Then though it belong unto private men to conserve and retain their own, and unto Princes to contend and strive for other mens Goods (as ambitious minds do affirm and desire) yet must they remember, that the desire of Rule passeth all other affections; yet must they not forget that some things resembling vertues are scant commendable, but rather hateful and odious; as too too great and obstinate severity, and a mind nothing flexible or relenting, at the sight, at the remembrance of another mans misery: Then though Princes be of power to begin Wars, and to oppress their Subjects, yet ought they to consider that it is not always expedient to do all that a man may or can do, that a wise man must first try all other means, then use the tryal of Armes; that as it is commendable to be valiant against the enemy, so it is praise-worthy to use clemency and gentleness towards them that are meek and penitent, that they which offend by force, and not of purpose, by constraint and not of free-will, and use Armes for their liberty, and not of malice, deserve pardon, and not hard dealing, favour and not cruelty, life, and liberty, and not death and servitude; Then to be short, if every one of these reasons shall

not

not be available unto the Queen of *England*, and the oppressed *Flemings*, yet let all avail her and them; so shall she and they be justified, and the Spaniard condemned; so shall their and her actions be approved, and his doings be reprehended; so shall no man have just occasion to envie their and her prosperity, and all Princes good cause to fear and suspect his over-growing authority; so briefly shall it appear, that the Spaniards unkind dealing deserveth no kindness of her Majesty, and that although she hath hitherto spared him, yet she hath no occasion to favour him. And now I will make it appear, that notwithstanding his many Kingdomes and great power, it lay in her power long sithence to have overthrown him. For if it had pleased her Highness to have sent greater strength in *Flanders* then she did, and of late years to have aided the United Provinces with huger Armies then she ever sent thither, those Countries which are now partly in his possession, and partly freed from his bondage, had all before this time rejected him for their Lord, and not any of them ever returned to his Subjection. But the fear which she had of him and his power at home, the supplies which she sent into *France*, and the upholding of her friends in *Scotland*, together with the repressing of her Rebels in *Ireland*, never gave her leave to bend her whole forces against him in the Low Countries. True, and that is one of the principal reasons why he hath by all means possible laboured to sow discord, and to maintain factions in all and every one of the Countries, thereby disabling them to send out any forces sufficient to annoy him, and diverting her from using the uttermost of her power, to his prejudice; and yet, to conclude this point, considering the weakness of these his Neighbours, by reason of their domestical divisions, and her Graces whole strength, because her Realm is not divided, it cannot be denied that she hath far better ability then any other Christian Prince to weaken his power, and to abate his pride; and truly he that shall well look into his State, such as it is, shall find that it is far different from that which it is supposed to be: For, although he be Lord and King of many Dominions and Kingdomes, although the *Indies*, in some mens opinions, furnish him with abundance of Treasure, yet in truth neither is his power greatly to be feared, nor his wealth far exceeding her Majesties and other Princes substance.

The Spaniard is not so strong as men suppose him to be.

For first, touching his strength, some of his Countries are not so populous as *France* and *England*; others that have great store of people, have men of such a mould, and such conditions, that they are unfit and unapt for the Wars; and *Spain* it self from whence his best Souldiers come, sendeth forth so many Garrisons into the *Indies*, to *Naples*, to *Milan*, to *Flanders*, and to *Burgundy*, that he can hardly, upon an occasion of great and most urgent extremity, bring ten thousand Spaniards together: And although the benefit of the Camaradoes doth greatly help them, their long and late experience maketh them most expert and cunning; their military discipline containeth them in a very good order, and their extraordinary rewards and stipends maketh them both serviceable and very adventuresous; yet neither can so small a number perform any matter of great worth, neither was it ever seen, since the first Wars of the Low-Countries until this day, that being inferiour but by a few, nay being equal unto our men in number, they departed with the honour of the field, neither can it be truly said, that our men being no choice men, but such

as our Country can spare, and hath least need of: having had no long time of experience, nor fighting for the Liberty of their own Country, or the right of their Prince (which two things adde and put courage even in men scant having any great stomach at all) did ever refuse to meet the best trained and long experienced Spaniards in the field, and meeting them in equal places, and in like number, they most commonly have driven them to the worst, or made their party good enough with them; and although the Spaniards for these few years (few I term them because they exceed not the memory of man) have had the name of great Souldiers, yet if we consider with what people they have encountered, and by what policies they have prevailed, they have not received the tenth part of that honour and renown which they seem to challenge of just and due desert; for the people with whom they have contended in all this time, have been the unexperienced *Flemmings*, the careless *Germans*, the unwarlike *Italians*, and the fierce and quickly fainting *French-men*. The first sort by long practise are grown equal, and nothing inferior unto them; the second of late have holpe them to most of their victories; the third by their own Writers are termed *Infamia militia*; and the fourth was in *Julius Cæsars* time, and are still, in the beginning of a conflict more then men, in the end thereof less then women; neither may I so much derogate from the *Italians*, or from the *Frenchmen*, but that I must of necessity grant, that many of the Captains who have done the Spanish King greatest service, have been *Italians*; and the unprofitable Journies which *Charles* the fifth made divers times into *France*, with full intention and assured hope to conquer the same; and also the late dishonours received by the Prince of *Parma* and other his Lieutenants sent into the same Realm, with a purpose and resolution to do much more then was effected, do argue that the *French-men* yeild not greatly unto them in valour or in discipline. Then if he cannot make an Army of many natural Spaniards, and they when they are strongest, be it in number or experience, are easily to be matched, and many times over-matched by men of less experience, practise and exercise then they, why shall his natural strength be feared, which cannot be great, unless he will dis-furnish his Garisons, which were to overthrow himself, and to lose his best and richest Countries? Or why should a Prince fear his mercenary Souldiers, or hirelings? who fight no longer then they have money, and when they are ready to go to the Battel, either abandon their Master for want of pay, or fly to the enemy in hope of reward; or when they are in the conflict, behave themselves cowardly, faintly, and so indifferently, that if they might be assured of their lives, they would hardly strike one stroke. This is briefly his power.

Now to his Wealth.

It cannot be denied that his Revenues far exceed the Revenues of any Christian Prince whatsoever. It must likewise be granted, that the *Indies* yeild him yearly great store and abundance of Treasure; And it is supposed that his credit with Merchants is able at any time to supply his wants, if he should chance to stand in need: But his States being most of them gotten (as you have heard) by conquest; or distracted (as you see) by division; they must needs (as all such States do) put him to so great charges, as the comings in will hardly serve to defray his Expences.

The Spaniard is not so wealthy as he is taken to be.

The Treasure that cometh from the *Indies*, sometimes part of it perish-

riseth by the Sea, part is intercepted by us, and all that is brought home, doth not suffice to maintain his Wars. His credit is not in any measure answerable to the conceit and opinion that is had of it.

For first; It hath been published in French Discourses, Printed many years since; that he oweth more money to the Merchants of *Genoa* alone, then ever he shall be able to pay; And I can shew, whensoever it shall please you to require the sight thereof, a Letter written better then sixteen years ago unto him by his Secretary *Escovedo*, and intercepted by the States, wherein he signifieth unto him, That his credit would not serve, (the which *Don John* of *Austria* affirmeth by another Letter unto his Catholique Majesty) to take up any more money upon the *Bourse* at *Antwerp*, because the Merchants would first be paid that which then was owing them, before they would lend any more; And *Don John* de *Austria*, addeth in his Letter, That had not *Escovedo* his credit (by reason that the Merchants held him for a man of great wealth, and of great care to maintain his credit) been of greater worth upon the *Bourse*, then the Kings, their necessities had not been supplied; and therefore in the end of his Letter, he beseecheth his Majesty to have an especial care of the payment of those small sums which were then taken up, lest that *Escovedo* his credit failing, for want of due payment, they might fail of their purpose when they should have the like occasion to borrow at another time.

Besides, his Father, by reason of the great Charges which his continual Wars put him unto, when he dyed, left him greatly in debt; and he himself ever since his Fathers death, hath been at exceeding great charges, either by building Castles and Citadels, or by making houses of pleasure, and Monastries, or by maintaining continual Wars, or by keeping many Garrisons, or by buying and building Ships to withstand our Navy, or by paying part of his Fathers debts, or by entertaining our Fugitives, or by upholding the Rebels of *France*: Now as private men being left in debt by their Parents, and living always at great charges, cannot possibly be rich and wealthy: So Princes being not only charged with their Fathers debts, but also overcharged with ordinary and extraordinary Expenses, cannot have great store of wealth in their Treasure-houses; And *Alphonfus* Duke of *Ferrara* (as *Paulus Fovius* reporteth in his life) held opinion, that the Prince was not worthy the name of a Prince, and was always likely to be contemned and wronged, who had not in his Treasure great store of ready money laid up against he should have need thereof.

Paul Jovius

But, to the end that all which I have said touching this last Point, may carry the more likelyhood of truth and probability, I take it not to be amiss to let you understand the proportion of some Princes expences, in their Wars; in their Buildings, and in other occasions; by which you may conjecture what the Spanish King hath expended of late years voluntarily and necessarily, beyond his usual and ordinary charges.

Comines.

The Bishop and Town of *Colen*, in their Wars against *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, spent every Month an hundred thousand Crowns; as *Philip de Comines* avoucheth.

The *Florentines* in their Wars against the King of *France*, undertaken by the Commandment of Pope *Leo* the tenth, spent eight hundred thousand Ducates, in the taking of the Dukedom of *Urbis*; In their Wars against *Caesar*, six hundred thousand; and in other occasions depending upon

upon the Wars against *France*, after the said Pope *Leo* his death, three hundred thousand Ducates; And the same Pope spent in the said Wars against the Duke of *Urbis*, eight hundred thousand Ducates; as *Guicciard*,
eth. *Clement* the seventh spent in the Wars against *Tuscany*, for the restoring of his Family, ten hundred thousands Crowns; as *Paul Jovius*
Paulus tertius consumed in fifteen years, in needless Wars, above twenty Millions of gold; as *Illecas*,
Alva for the building of the Castle of *Antwerp*, exacted of the Citizens thereof, four hundred thousand Florins; as *Dinothus* testifieth. *Cosmus de Medicis*, being first a private man, and then Duke of *Florence*, spent in private and publique buildings, better then forty Millions of Crowns, and ten Millions in Gifts and Rewards; as *Paulus Jovius* averreth.
Edward the Third, King of *England*, spent in an idle Journey into *France*, nine hundred thousand pounds; as *Thomas* of *Walsingham* reporteth. The Frenchmen in the time of *Richard* the second, King of *England*, spent a thousand Marks every day from Easter until Michlemas, in maintaining but thirty seven Gallies, and eight other Ships; as the same Authour affirmeth. *Henry* the third spent in a Journey which his Brother *Richard* made into *Germany*, when he was chosen Emperour, above seven hundred thousand pounds; as *Mathew Paris* saith in his Chronicles. But to come more neer to our purpose: The King of *Spain* offered unto *Don John* Duke of *Austria*, three hundred thousand Crowns, every Moneth, to maintain his Wars in the Low Countties, as *Dinothus* setteth down in his History. The same King above sixteen years ago, had spent better then fifty Millions of Crowns in his Wars of *Flanders*; as *Marco Antonio Arrayo* testifieth. And the States of the said Countries gave unto the Duke of *Alencon*, yearly, four and twenty Tuns of Gold to maintain their Wars both by Land and Sea, against the King of *Spain*; as *David Chytræus* reporteth. Now, if mean States in small and short Wars; if petty Princes in private and publique buildings; if the French king in the maintenance of a few Ships, but for a few Moneths; if our Kings in idle Journeys; if the Duke of *Alva* in building one Castle; if the States of the Low Counttries in their Wars; and if the king of *Spain* himself so many years ago, spent so much as is before mentioned; What have his Citadels, his Castles, his Monasteries, his Journeys, his provisions by Sea, his Ships, and his Wars, not in one place, but in many, not against one Prince, but against divers, not for short time, but of long continuance cost him? And as these wonderful Expences are Arguments that he had much; so they be witnesses that he now wanteth: And as his long and continual Wars in *Flanders* do shew that he is malicious, prone to revenge, and desirous to recover his own; so they prove that his might, his puissance, and his power, is not so great as it is taken to be. For, he that withal his strength cannot master one poor Nation; that in many years cannot recover his own Patrimony; shall any man take him to be able to bring to pass all that he attempteth? Shall we deem him sufficient to subdue others Countries? common sence and reason teacheth us, that he which is not able to do little things, is far unable to bring to pass matters of great weight. *Titus Livius* divideth men into three sorts; Some are so wise that they counsel themselves and others; Others be not wise enough to advise themselves, and yet to conceive and follow such advice as is given them: And the third sort can neither take nor give good counsel: So some Princes are able to help themselves and others; Others can defend themselves, but

not assist their friends; And there is a third kind that can neither defend their own States nor others. I know not in which of these three sorts to place the king of *Spain*: The last sort too base for him; the second not high enough; and the first in truth scant fit for him; for he that cannot help himself, how may we judge him sufficient to succour others? and yet we see that there are no Wars where he hath not somewhat to do, where he sendeth not some helps, either of men or money, or of both; which argueth that he loveth to be always doing, although he do nothing worthy his labour, always troublesome, although his troubles avail him little or nothing; always desirous to embrace many things, although he holdeth not fast any thing. But of Princes I had rather deliver unto you other mens judgments then mine own opinion.

You have heard what the Spanish Kingdoms are, and by that which hath been said you may easily conjecture that his principal force and strength cometh from *Spain* and *Italy*, Countries as far different in conditions and qualities, as they are distant in place and situation: Of the force of these two Countries you shall therefore hear what a Learned Writer, and what I (who am not worthy to write) hath set down for his resolute opinion. I have told you long since, that *Guicciardine* termeth the Footmen of *Italy*, *Infamia della militia*; And now to the same purpose (because it falleth out very fit for my purpose) I may not forbear to tell you, that the same Authour in his ninth Book of the same History, useth of the Infantry of *Italy*, these words following; *All Princes that can be served with High Dutchmen, Spaniards or Swizzers, refuse the service of Italian Footmen, because they are neither acquainted with the Customs and Orders of other Nations, nor accustomed to continue long in the field.* The same Writer considering that some kingdoms naturally are better able to defend themselves then offend their enemies, delivereth for his opinion, that the Spanish King is far better able to defend his Kingdom from any Invasion to be made by the King of *France*, then to offend or annoy the said King; By which two judgments I may boldly conjecture, and prove my conjecture by *Nicholaus Machiavelli*, (who hath written a whole Chapter upon this Argument) that not only the Spanish King, but also any other Prince whatsoever, being driven (when he hath occasion to offend or invade an enemy) to use forrain power, and mercenary Souldiers, is not to be esteemed a strong and mighty Prince: and that such is the state and condition of the king of *Spain*, is manifestly proved by the places before alledged out of *Guicciardine*. For, if his *Italians* (the principal forces of an Army always consisting of Footmen) be not fit for that service; and his Spaniards are better able to maintain his Realm at home, then to molest his enemies abroad, who can justly esteem him strong, whose chiefest strength dependeth wholly upon these two Nations? And now to leave the *Italians*, as men in this respect not worthy to be had in any great reckoning, and to proceed more largely in the discovery and declaration of the Spanish valour.

True it is that (as I have said before) continual use and daily experience in Martial affairs, have made them of late years very famous: It is also most certain and manifest, that they are very patient, and able to endure labour, hunger and thirst; light of body, sparing in their diet, and therefore satisfied and maintained with a little; wary and politique, and therefore cunning in using and inventing new Stratagems; briefly, so desirous of Wars, that unless they have a forrain enemy, they will easily fall

to variance and civil discord at home : But if you call to remembrance how they come to that fame, which now they have attained ; if you consider that they are (as *Titus Livius* testifieth) of an unquiet and contentious disposition, and always affecting change and alteration ; if you call to mind that (as *Paulus Fovius* reporteth) they have minds evermore thirsting for Rule and Government ; whereunto if they once attain, they bend their whole force and thoughts unto the purchasing of further and higher Authority ; Lastly, if you weigh and remember, that (as *Piero Mexias*, a Spanish Historiographer saith) they cannot endure to be governed by a stranger ; you must needs think that the before mentioned vertues may be either obscured or hindred by these later vices : For let them meet with a Nation not so timorous as those with whom they had to deal of late ; let them follow their natural disposition, and so fall at variance amongst themselves ; let them still covet and affect Authority, and so when they should jointly help one another against their enemies, proudly disdain to be ruled by their own leaders, as they have done of late years : Lastly, let them contemn a stranger, as they did the late Duke of *Parma*, or not agree with strangers, as they did in *Flanders* ; what fruit may be expected of their service ? or what profit can proceed of their valour ? It is imputed unto the *Germans* for a great fault, that when they are ready to join with their enemies in battel, they oftentimes refuse to strike a stroke before they have their due and monethly pays ; and for this one fault Princes make no great account of them ; and yet the Spaniards, who are subject to this fault as well as they, are commended for their loyalty and obedience ; in so much that some men write, that they were never discontent for want of their pay : But if you read either the Indian History, or the Writers of their late Wars in *Flanders*, you shall find that they have oftentimes revolted for lack of their pay ; yea they have banded against their Captains, and their best Souldiers have resisted the commandment of their Generals. This I could prove by many Examples, but one notable Example shall suffice for those many. At what time it was agreed betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the States of the Low Countries, that all Spaniards shall depart thence ; It was thought convenient and necessary by *Don Fohn de Austria*, who was the General for the King in *Flanders*, to appoint some principal and chief Captains to have the leading and conducting of them into *Italy* ; Whereupon *Don Fohn* gave expresse commandment unto the Kings Secretary *Escovedo*, to assemble the Counsel of War in the Town of *Antwerp*, and there to consult and deliberate what man was meetest for that purpose. This Council assembled, made special choise of *Don Alonso de Vargas*, who willingly accepted the charge ; but *Julian Romero*, a man of great worth, and no small experience, openly refused to be commanded by *Don Alonso*, alledging for the only reason of his disobedience, that it would be a great dishonour for him to go into *Italy* under such a Leader ; because that he being Master of the Camp, *Don Alonso* had been his Souldier ; and *De Vargas* as boldly protested, that since he had been thought worthy by the Counsel to govern, he would not be governed nor guided by *Julian Romero*. The Council acquainted *Don Fohn* with this contention ; he fearing to discontent either *Romero* or *Vargas*, and doubting that if they should be discontented, some great inconvenience might follow thereon ; commanded the Council to chuse a third man, which was the Count of *Mansfield* ; Whereat *Don Alonso* so stormed, that he complained of *Don Fohn de Austria*, a *Dandaras* displagad, with Banners displayed, as the same *Don Fohn* termeth it

in his Letters to the king of *Spain*; yea it seemed that he was so displeased therewith, and so resolute to signifie his grief and discontentment unto the King, that *Don Fohn de Austria* in his Letter unto the King is fain to intreat his Majesty that if *Don Alonso*, moved with the same passion which possessed him when he chid hand-smooth with him, should so much forget himself as to write, *Al gana libertad*, some unbecoming speech unto his Majesty, *Como la ha becho a mi*, as he hath done (saith he) unto me, it might please his Majesty not only to dissemble, but also to comfort, favour, and promise him some high reward, assuring his Majesty, that whatsoever recompence his Grace should bestow upon him, he would take the same as bestowed upon himself; yea further, beseeching his Majesty to let *Don Alonso* understand what he had written in his behalf, and that his commendations hath not a little availed him; to the end (saith he) *Salga de la opinion que ya concedido*, he may conceive no more so evil an opinion of me as he hath done. Was not this, think you, a point of great disobedience in a base Souldier, as *Don Alonso* had been? Was it not a bold part of a Souldier to rail at his General unto his face? Was it not a fault severely punishable, to refuse to march under a Leader chosen by consent of an whole Council at War? Was not that General in an evil case, who was constrained to flatter so mean a Souldier? Or can that king be thought to have obedient and loyal Souldiers, who must of necessity be inforced, not only not to punish, but also to pardon, and not to tolerate alone, but also to recompence a rebellious and insolent Captain; for fear of some inconvenience that might follow of his discontentment or punishment? But this was not all, And *Don Alonso* alone shewed not himself discontented; *Sancho de Avila*, the Colonel *Mudragon*, the Captain *Monteselega*, the Colonel *Verdugo*, the Castellan *Francisco*, *Hermendes de Avila*, and many others of the most especial Captains of that time, were likewise so displeased, and uttered their discontentments in such manner, as that *Don Fohn* was compelled (as he testifieth in the same Letter) to pacifie them, not only by granting them their whole pays out of Wars which they had in Wars, but also by promising them that they should have the like charges and Offices in the Dukedom of *Milan*, as they had in *Flanders*. Now whereas the wisest, best, and most serviceable Captains shew manifest signs of undutiful carriage, and intolerable arrogancy; may the meaner Souldiers be justly blamed if they fall into the like offence? Or can that Nation be worthily commended for loyal and obedient Souldiers, whose chief Officers do so highly forget and neglect their duty? especially in a matter of such weight and importance as the departure of the Spaniards out of *Flanders* was at that time unto the King; but this kind of disobedience is not usual, and whereas there be good Masters, there most commonly be likewise good servants; So the Spanish King being better furnished with notable Captains then any other Prince in Christendom, he must likewise have sufficient and good Souldiers; And because it hath been said, that not the number and multitude but the goodness and valour of Souldiers maketh their Kings victorious, it must needs follow as a necessary consequent, that the King of *Spain*, whose Captains pass the Captains of all other Princes, both in number and experience, cannot be without good Souldiers, and therefore is strong enough to encounter with any Adversary whatsoever: To this Argument it is easily answered; that although the valour of Souldiers is better to be regarded then the number, yet that Prince who hath valiant Souldiers, not being able to bring into the field a proportionable and equal number

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unto his enemies, especially such enemies as rather excel then yeild unto his Subjects in valour and Chivalry may undoubtedly be held and reputed a Prince of no great strength and puissance. If then you remember (as you cannot forget) that the Christian Adversaries with whom the king of *Spain* hath any great contention; are, the king of *France*; and the Queen of *England*, (the Subjects of either of which Princes are neither inferiour unto the Spaniards in number or in valour) you cannot chuse but perceive and see, that the King is not of might and power sufficient to contend at once with both these Princes. This was well known unto his Father, who (as it hath been said before) so carried himself in all his life time, that when he had *England* for his enemy, *France* was his friend; and when he fell at variance with *France*, he presently procured the friendship and alliance of *England*; Besides there is nothing more usual then to make conjectures of things to come by things that are past, and to measure the present forces of Princes by their own or their Predecessors strength and power at other times; for although a Kingdom be at sometimes more populous then at others; yet because man in reason hath a better regard of that which is commonly and dayly seen, then of that which happeneth very seldom; he cannot greatly be deceived that measureth a new reigning Princes might and power, by his own and his Predecessors former puissance: But before I enter into the due consideration hereof, it shall not be amiss to let you understand whence it cometh to pass that the Spaniards are lately become so famous as they are: you know that in this our corrupt Age, as men are friended, so they are favoured, that they who are highest in Authority, are most commonly as high in praise, as they are in preheminance; that all men covet to win favour with the Mighty; that no man can so securely, as perhaps boldly, derogate the least jot that may be, from their credit and reputation; who in common opinion are held praise worthy. Common fame is by Law a certain kind of proof; and our common Proverb saith; *That it may be an untruth which two or three report; but that can hardly be untrue which all or most men affirm to be certain and manifest*; yea such is the force of common fame, that whensoever it proceedeth first from grave and honest personages, it carrieth great credit, and he shall hardly be credited that shall venture to gainsay or control the same. Since therefore divers Authors of great Antiquity, of marvellous gravity, of singular learning, and rare wisdom, have attributed in their speeches, in their conferences, in their writings, more praises, and far greater commendations unto *Spain*, then unto any other Country; many for fear to be reputed unwise, if they should not subscribe to their opinion; some to follow the new received custome of open and intolerable flattery; and others for affection (which easily deceiveth very wise men) have of late years either thought it a duty, or a degree and step to preferment, to concur in opinion, both openly and privately, with as many as have dedicated their Studies, and devoted themselves and their uttermost endeavours, to the setting forth, maintenance, and augmentation of *Spain*, and of the Spanish Kings honour and reputation; Thence it cometh to pass, that divers learned men in their Writings, striving to yeild more praises to *Spain* then it deserveth; make mention of such commodities to be as yet in *Spain*, which many years before our great Grand-fathers time were never seen nor found therein. So doth *Johannes Vascus*, in his Preface of his History of *Spain* say, that there was sometimes so great abundance of gold and silver Mines in one Province of *Spain* called anciently *Boetica*, as that divers forain Nations, be-

Vascus.

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ing drawn thither with an unsatiable desire and covetousness thereof, did not only lade their Ships with Gold and Silver, but also made Anchors for their Ships of silver. The same Authour addeth further, That when the *Carthaginians* came first into *Spain*, they found in many houses great Barrels and Hogsheads made of pure silver; and in some Stables the Mangers for their Horses of silver: In so much that the *Carthaginians* being enriched only with the wealth of *Spain*, were made able therewith alone to subdue the *Sicilians*, *Libians*, and *Romans*; for they found their silver in such great quantity, that one man called *Bebelo*, gave daily unto *Hannibal*, three thousand Crowns: The same Authour proceeding in one and the same manner of commendation, affirmeth out of *Justin*, That *Spain* may compare for fertility of soil, with *France*, *Affrica* and *Italy*, for that these Countries never help *Spain*, but *Spain* oftentimes holpe them with Corn, and all other kind of Viſuals. The same Authour Hyperbolishing still in one manner, calleth *Spain* the most warlike Nation of the world; the Teacher of *Hannibal* to war, the Nurse of Souldiers, and the Province which knew not her self, nor her strength, before she was overcome; and that she troubled the *Romans* more then any other Nation of the whole world. The same Authour always continuing one course, preferreth *Spain* for Antiquity of true Religion, and for faithful obedience to her Sovereign Kings and Governours, before all other Nations, attributing the first foundation of their faith and profession of Christ, unto *Paul* the Apostle, and *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and extolling their loyalty, because they have not only been always true unto their own Kings, but also to forraign Princes and Leaders; As *Hannibal*, *Pompey*, *Juba* King of *Numidia*, *Sertorius*, a notable Roman Rebel, reposed greater trust and confidence in Spaniards then in their own Nations: Lastly, the same Authour striving to exceed all others in flattery, equalleth *Spain* for learned men and women, with the most learned Nations of *Europe*. And *Sebastianus Foxius* in his Book *de Institutione Historia*, with a Spanish brag, speaking by way of a Dialogue, more arrogantly then wisely of himself; giveth such praises unto himself for eloquence, as *Tully* the father and founder of eloquence, would or did ever challenge; And yet *Tullies* Verse (*O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam*, argueth that he was somewhat proud and arrogant. Now to avoid the just reprehension of hatred or malice, I will forbear to confute their Assertions at large; and briefly, impugn them, not by mine own, but by other mens Testimonies, who shall not be inferiour but equal to *Vasæus* for learning and fidelity: *Munster* therefore shall tell you, that *Spain* now yeildeth no golden or silver Mines, but that all the Mines it hath are of Lead and Tin; which may perhaps in time turn into Gold and Silver, if we may beleeve *Raymundus Lullius*, and other Alchimists of his opinion, which if it should chance at any time as many Historiographers as write of *England*, would tell you that *England* should not then go behind *Spain* for gold and silver. The same Authour shall likewise tell you, how likely it is that *Spain* should excel *Affrica*, *France* and *Italy*, in fertility of soil, since (as he saith) *Spain* lieth barren, waste and desolate in many places; and late experience sheweth, that *Denmark*, *Holland* and *England*, have many times supplied *Spains* wants of Corn and other Viſuals: How warlike a Nation *Spain* hath been, let not only *Terapha*, a Spanish Chronocler, and better witness for *Spain* then *Vasæus* a Flemming; but also reason and daily experience testifie, both which telling us (as you shall hereafter hear) that *Spain* hath been conquered by more sundry Nations then any other Nation in

the world do by necessary inference conclude, that *Spain* yeildeth unto all those Nations in Prowess and Chivalry; And all Historians of former times, and of this present Age, will undoubtedly controll as many as shall presume to affirm, that *France* and *England* troubled not *Rome* much more then *Spain* did, before they could be conquered, for where was *Caesar* in greater danger then in *England*? Where was there a Prince that durst challenge him to a single Combat but in *England*? And what hold had he of his Conquest after he had conquered *England*? No better then *Vasens* might have of a wet Eel by the tail.

But to proceed to the confutation of the rest; *Terapha* in some manner agreeth with *Vasens* touching the Antiquity of Religion; for he saith, that during the Reign of *Claudius* the Emperour, *James* the Apostle travelled over all *Spain*, and not long after *Paul* came to *Narbona*: but how many won *James* to profess the Gospel, by travelling over all *Spain*? Forsooth but poor nine Disciples, as *Terapha* reporteth; a small number for so great a Travel, or for *Vasens* to boast and brag of, much less for him to prefer *Spain* in this respect before all other Nations; for I know not why for Antiquity of Religion, *England* should yeild unto *Spain*; because the same *Josephus* which buried the body of *Christ*, not alone, as *Paul* and *James* came into *Spain*, but with great company arrived into *England*, and not he alone, but divers of his society, converted not poor nine, but infinite many, and not to profess *Christ Jesus*, but to be baptized: And if a Spaniard may carry equal credit with a Flemming (which a Spaniard will rather die then not do) our little English Island professed *Christ* long before *Spain*. For Dr. *Illescas* in his Pontifical History reporteth, that

Pope *Elutherius* sent *Fugacius*, and *Damianus* into *England* to baptize King *Lucius* and all his Household: And *England* was the first Province in all the world, in common opinion of all other Nations, that received and professed Christian Religion; and if *Spain* may brag of their *Isidorus* Archbishop of *Siwil*, or of *Eldius*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, which purged their Country of the Heresie of the *Monopolists*; why may not our Island boast of *Augustinus Militus*, and that *John* which Pope *Gregory* the first sent into *England*, not to remove errors as their Bishops did, but to confirm our Countymen in that Christian Religion and Profession which they had received and entertained almost five hundred years before their coming. Neither may it be justified that *Spain* (as *Vasens* saith) after it had once entertained the Doctrine of *Christ*, never fell from the same; for *Illescas*, in the life of Pope *Pelagius* the second, affirmeth, that in the 385. year of *Christ*s Incarnation, *Recaredus*, King of the *Goths*, and of *Spain*, was the first King that expelled the *Arrian* Heresie out of his kingdom and expressly commanded all his Subjects to receive and profess Christian Religion: Whereby it appeareth that *Spain* lived from the time of St. *James* and St. *Pauls* being there, until *Recaredus* his Reign, which is better then four hundred years, in manifest and manifold Heresies; a crime which cannot be proved to have been in *England*, or in many other Nations, after they had once submitted themselves to the Doctrine of *Christ* and his Disciples. Lastly, if *Spain* will still continue to brag and say, that their King *Ferdinand* was entituled by *Alexander* the sixth, by the name of the Catholique King, they may leave to boast thereof; when they shall hear that *Henry* the eighth our King, not much after the same time, was surnamed by *Leo* the tenth, Pope of *Rome*, *Defender of the Catholique faith*; and that the *Switzers* for their service done unto the same Pope *Leo* the tenth, received of him the Title of *Helpers and Protectors of*

Vide de
Elutherio.

Functius.
lib. 1.
Nic. Gyesl.
Polid. Virg.
lib. 4.
Rob. Barns
in vita
Pontificum
pag. 68.

Guicciard.
lib. 10. 5. 18.

Nic. Giles.
Munsterius

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The State of Christendom.

the Ecclesiastical Liberty; a Title in no respect inferiour unto that of *Spain*: And lastly, that *Clouis* King of *France*, above nine hundred years before their *Ferdinando* the fifth was honoured with the Title of *The most Christian King*: A Title as for Antiquity, so for worthiness better then the other, because the French Kings, for the worthiness and multitude of their deserts towards the See of *Rome*, are called *Primogeniti Ecclesia*, the eldest Sons of the Church of *Rome*: Now from their faith towards God, to their fidelity towards their Princes, a matter sufficiently handled, and therefore needless, and not requiring any other confutation, then the advantage that may be taken of *Vasæus* his own words; for if they have been faithful unto forrainers and strange Princes, and have submitted their necks unto many several Nations, it argueth inconstancy, fellow-mate to levity, which is either a Mother or a guid unto disloyalty; because light heads are quickly displeased, and discontented minds give easie entertainment unto rebellious and treasonable cogitations. To conclude then this Point with their learning, let me oppose a Spaniard unto a Flemming; a man better acquainted with the vertues and vices of his own Country then a stranger, a man who giveth his Testimony of *Vasæus*, and of the cause of his writing of the Spanish History: *John Vasæus* a Flemming, seeing the negligence of the Spaniards, and how careless they were to commit to perpetual memory the worthy exploits and actions of their own Nation, began of late years to set forth a small Chronicle: Why then the Spaniards are negligent, they are careless of their own commendation; so thought *Vasæus*, or else he had not written their History; so saith *Sebastianus Foxius*, the man whom I bring to confute *Vasæus*, the man who by attributing (as you have heard) more unto himself then any modest man (unless it were a bragging Spaniard) would do, giveth me occasion to think that he will not derogate or detract any thing from the praises due unto his own Country: This man therefore in his before mentioned Book speaketh thus of the learning of *Spain*: *Our Country men* (saith he) *both in old time and in this Age having continually lived in forrain or domestical Wars, never gave their minds greatly unto study; for the rewards of learning in our Country are very few, and they proper unto a few paltry Pettyfoggers; and our wits being high and lofty, could never brook the pains that learning requireth, but either we disdaining all kind of study, give our selves presently to the purchase of Honours and Riches, or else following our studies for a small while, quickly give them over, as though we had attained to the full and absolute perfection of learning, so that very few or none are found amongst us, who may compare for learning with the Italians, or have shewed the ripeness and sharp maturity of their wits in any kind of any kind of study.* You have heard two contrary opinions touching the Spaniards learning; I leave it to your discretion to follow and beleve which of them you please; and withal to consider by the way what manner of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Government we should have, if the Spanish ignorant and unlearned Clergy might, as they have a long time both desired and endeavoured, prescribe Laws and Orders unto all the Churches of Christendom. The favourable Assertions in the behalf of *Spain* being thus briefly retelled, it remaineth now to make a conjectural estimate of the Spanish present Forces, by an Historical Declaration of the power thereof in times past; and because it were over tedious to trouble you with the recital of such forces as *Spain* hath employed many hundred years ago, in her own defence, or in disturbance of her forrain enemies abroad, I will restrain my self unto such a time as is within the memory of man, and especially unto the Raigne of *Charles* the

the fifth; For (as I take it) *Spain* was never, for this many hundred years, so strong, as when the said *Charles* was both King thereof and Emperor. And albeit *Piero Mexias*, in the life of *Gratianus* the Emperor attributeth so much unto Spaniards, as that he more boldly then truly affirmeth; that the Emperor flourished more under Spaniards, then under any other Nation whatsoever; and alledgeth for proof of his Assertion, the flourishing Estate thereof, under the before named *Charles* the fifth. Yet I think that the Empire being added unto *Spain*, rather beautified *Spain*, then that *Spain* being conjoynd with the Empire, did any thing at all illustrate the majesty of the Empire; because as little Stars give no light or beauty unto the Moon, but receive both from the Moon; so a lesser dignity being joyned to a greater, addeth no reputation thereunto, but is greatly honoured and beautified by the conjunction thereof, neither redoundeth it much (in my simple opinion) unto the honour of *Spain*, or of the Empire, that *Charles* the fifth was Emperor.

Spain is not greatly honoured thereby, because *Charles* the fifth was a Flemming, and no Spaniard; and *Spain* came unto him (as I have said) by marriage with the heire of the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Castile*; and the Empire was rather disgraced then honoured by the said *Charles*, because he being born in *Gauut*, was not onely a vassal, and natural-born subject unto the King of France, but also unto the See of *Rome*, for all the Dominions, Lands and Seignories which he had in possession, saving those which he held of France and the Empire. But *Charles* the fifth, such an Emperor as he was (and undoubtedly he was a very mighty, wise and politick Prince) never brought into the Field against any of his Enemies whatsoever, so great forces, and so mighty an Army, as might worthily be called invincible (by which name the proud and bragging Spaniards baptizd their late Army against *England*) This Emperor being (as you may conjecture and perceive by that which hath been already said) both Ambitious and Warlike, had in his life time many wars with divers Princes, but none more notable, famous, and worthy of perpetual memory, then his wars in *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*: For the wars which he had against the Turk are not properly to be termed his, because his Forces alone were not employed therein, but the aid and help of the best and most part of Christendom. His Forces in *Germany* were not above 9000 Horsemen, and 50000 Footmen, as *Lewis Guicciardine* testifieth in his Commentaries: And although he used in these wars all his wit and policy to increase his own power, and to weaken and diminish the strength of the Protestants; performing the one by drawing into League with himself, and unto his aid, the Pope, and other Princes of his own Religion: And affecting the other (as *Sleidan* writeth) by great cunning, and policy used in distracting many Princes concurring in opinion touching matters of Religion with the Protestants, from their side and Faction; yet the Protestants Army, consisting of 10000 Horsemen, and 90000 Footmen, was far greater then his in number, and had undoubtedly gotten the day against him when they joyned battel together, had not divers of their Confederates left and abandoned them before the battel was fought; Or had not the Duke of *Saxony* committed a gross error in joyning battel with him. His Armies brought into *France* were many, but none greater then at *Laundresy* and *Marcelles*: In the first he was aided by our King;

And in the second, by most of the Princes of *Italy*, and other his confederates, Infomuch that the King of *France*, who had been first overthrown by him in *Italy*, was constrained to implore the help of the Turk against him: For when he came to *Marselles* he had (as Dr. *Illescas* reporteth in the life of *Paulus tertius*) in his Army about 25000 Almaines, 8000 Spaniards, and ten or twelve thousand Italians; the Almaines gathered within the Dominion of the Empire, the Spaniards within his own Realm of *Spain*, and the Italians not onely in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Dukedom of *Milan*, but also in the Dutchy of *Savoy*, and in other parts of *Italy*, At *Laundressey*, reckoning therein the Forces which he had out of *England*, his whole Army came not to above 50000 (as the said *Guicciardine* affirmeth.) These were the greatest Strengths that ever he gathered together; and these are not so great, but that our Queen, without the help of any other Allie or Confederate, hath oftentimes brought far greater Forces into the Field, as both our Histories, and the French and Scottish Chronicles do witness. And Mr. *de la Noüe*, his opinion before mentioned, sheweth, that the French King of himself is very well able to raise a far greater Army, then any of these were, against any of his Enemies. I shall not therefore need (as I might conveniently do in this place) confer the Forces of *England* or of *France* with the strength of this Emperor, who had never gotten the happy victory, which he obtained against *Francis* the first, King of *France*, had not the Italian Captains, whom the French King put in trust, deceived him by taking pay for many more Souldiers then they had in their bands; (a fault too much used in our Modern Wars) had not the Switzers, when there was most need of them, departed to their own homes; had not the French King given himself too carelessly to pleasures, which caused his Forces to decrease and diminish daily; or had not the said King very unadvisedly attempted in the cold Winter to besiege *Pavia*: For the Marquess of *Pescara*, understanding that the King of *France*, being counselled thereunto by Captain *Bonnevet*, was gone to besiege *Pavia*, said unto his Souldiers; We that were no better then men already conquered, are now become Conquerors; for our Enemy, being therein ill advised, leaveth us in *Lody*, and goeth to fight with the Almaines at *Pavia*; where the French-men will not onely lose that Fury, with which many times they work wonders, but also will spend their chiefeft Forces in a long and tedious siege of a Town, not easie to be taken, and in fighting with a very valiant and most obstinate Nation; and in the mean while we shall receive fresh supplies out of *Germany*; and without all doubt, if the War continue long, as it is likely to do, we cannot but hope for a most happy and victorious end thereof.

Vide de
Marq. de
Pescara.

Now if this Emperor, in these Wars, (the worst of which was far more just, then the best which the King of *Spain* hath lately undertaken) could with the help and furtherance of all his Allies and Confederates make no greater Forces, then are before mentioned; nor with his Forces should ever have had so good success as he had, if his Adversaries had been so wise and wary as they might have been: Why shall his son King *Philip* be thought able to bring more men into the Field, then were in those Armies, or worthy of so good fortune as his Father had, since his strength is in no respect comparable unto his, and his Actions and his Enterprises have not the like colour and shew of Wisdom, or of Justice,

as the Emperor had? That the Father excelled the Son in strength, all men will confesse, saving those which carry a partial and prejudicate opinion of the present greatness of *Spain*: for albeit the son hath lately added the kingdom of *Portugal* unto those Realms and Dominions which his Father possessed and left unto him; although the Empire hath continued for these many years, and is likely to remain still in the House of *Austria*, and his very neer kinsmen; in regard of whose Affinity and kindred he may boldly rest in as great hope and assured confidence of the Aid and Assistance of the Empire, as he might if himself were Emperor: Yet having so governed in *Flanders*, that by reason of the long and continual Civil Wars, those Countries cannot yeeld him such Aid of Men and Money, as they did unto his Father, who in all his Wars, (as *Lewis Guicciardine* in the second Book of his Commentaries affirmeth) had greater help both of Men and money from them alone, then from all the rest of his Dominions; he hath greatly impaired his strength, and made it far inferiour unto his Fathers, or unto that same which he himself was like to make before, or at the first beginning of his Civil Wars. For to omit that he can now hardly make such strength as the Duke of *Alva*, or *Don John de Austria* have had in their Armies in *Flanders*, whereof the first had at one time 6000 horse, and 30000 foot, and the other as many footmen, and 4000 horsemen more; The decrease and diminution of his strength doth manifestly appear in this, that the Low-Countries are now reduced unto that poverty, and to such a penury of men, that he cannot possibly fetch any reasonable great number thence to imploy them in forreign services, but he is faine to bring in Strangers to defend his Towns against the united Provinces.

Jacobus Meyerus in the sixth book of his Chronicles of *Flanders*, reporteth that *Philip* King of *Flanders* in the year 1181 having Wars against the French King, had 200000 Men in his Army: And *Adrianus Barbadius*, in the Chronicles of the Dukes of *Brabant*, recordeth, that the Bishop of *Utritch* is able, upon any urgent occasion, to arm 40000 Men. The first of these reports sheweth what the force of *Flanders* hath been; and the second giveth me occasion to conjecture and think, that the strength of the United Provinces cannot but be great, since a Bishop of one Town could readily and conveniently Arm so many Men. It is written that the chiefeft cause of displeasure and contention betwixt *Philip*, surnamed The Fair, king of *France*, and Pope *Boniface* the eighth, was, because the said *Philip* would not, at the request and intreaty of the Pope, restore *Guido* Earl of *Flanders* unto his Liberty, that he might accompany and assist the Christians in their Wars in the Holy Land, where the said *Guido's* Predecessors had done better service then any other Prince of *Christendom*; and the Pope held an opinion, that *Guido's* presence would avail the Christians much more then the society of all the other Princes. What a loss then hath the king of *Spain* by the Low Countries poverty, as well of money as of men, since the same Countries were of late years more populous, far richer, and better inhabited then they were in times past. It is a worlds wonder to see the Riches, the beauty, the Pride, and the jolity of those Cities before the late Civil Wars; And it will make any mans heart bleed (as we say) within his body, to behold the poverty, desolation, ruine and calamity of them at this

present. Neither is the weakness of *Flanders* so prejudicial or hurtfull unto the Spaniards, as the obstinate continuance of the United Provinces in their disobedience against him. For, considering the extremity of his malice against *England*, it must needs be very grievous unto him, that there is so fast a League of friendship betwixt us and them; And he cannot but be sorry in heart as often as he remembreth what aid they yeilded us against his invincible Navy, whereby the same was more easily subdued and overthrown: But if he should look considerately upon their Strength by Sea, and the multitude of their Mariners and Sea-faring men, whereof he hath more need then of any other people whatsoever, he cannot but utterly despair to attain unto his desires, or to satisfie his revengefull minde, so long as those Provinces shall continue in Amity with us. It will seem incredible that I have heard reported of the multitude of the natural Inhabitants in such a Country, where most part of their Martial men are employed in foreign Garrisons, and the people remaining at home are scant fit to make souldiers; For that every man that hath an affection and liking to be trained up in Armes, desireth to be sent into some such place where he may have the use of Armes; It is an ancient custom amongst Princes, if one hath an occasion to passe with an Army through anothers Country, to take Pledges and Hostages that he shall passe without any kinde of Annoyance: And if caution be thought necessary when a multitude goeth but through a Forreign Dominion, how can a Prince be too watchfull, provident, and circumspect over an infinite number of Forreigners residing within the limits of his Kingdom, where although they be not armed, yet they may arm themselves at any time: although they be dispersed, yet they may congregate and unite themselves together at their pleasure: although they want Guides and Governours to direct them in any malicious enterprise; yet if any Army of their own Nation should attempt any manner of Hostility against the Prince within whose dominion they live, they may watch and wait for some good opportunity to joyne with their Countrymen, and so endanger his Estate that harboureth them: And sometimes Strangers of a few, grow to so great a multitude in other Princes dominions, that they become both terrible and dangerous unto the Country which they inhabit.

Holin-
shed.

There was a time when certain wicked Rebels cruelly murdered *Charles* Earl of *Flanders*; of which some were according to their desert severely punished, and others were (both they and their Posterity) banished out of all parts of the Earldome, and also out of all the dominions of the king of *France*; insomuch that all men and nations hating them for their wickedness, they wandered up and down the wide world, and could not finde any place that would receive and harbour them; until that *Edward* King of *England* vouchsafed them a simple dwelling place in a little Island of *Ireland*, called *Gherma*, where in a few years they so multiplied and encreased, that in the year 1287. they presumed to wage war against the said King *Edward*; but being happily subdued by him, the greatest part of them were slain, and the residue which escaped became Sea-Rovers, and spared not to pill and poll any Nation whatsoever, that chanced to fall into their hands. This example may warn all Princes to take heed of strangers, and especially of such as have been Traytors unto their

their own Princes; and whosoever considereth well every circumstance thereof, and of many others like unto it, may boldly presume to say, that the Prince, whose Country is replenished with strangers, and especially with such as have been Traytors unto their own Princes, hath great occasion to live in great doubt of his own security, and of his subjects safety. But I speake not this against such strangers as are fled into *England*, or any other Country for their conscience sake, to avoid the tyranny of the Spaniards. I know that God ordained Cities of refuge, whereunto it was lawful for Innocents and men wrongfully oppressed, to fly for safety; and yet even over such strangers it cannot be amiss to have a watchful Eye, as well to Cherish them, if living well, and under Law, they be wronged by the natural subjects of his Country where they live, against the course of Law, as to foresee, that neither all, nor part of them be induced by the natural or professed Enemies of the State in which they are harboured, to attempt any open Hostility, or secret Treason against him that vouchsafeth to harbor them. You have heard what may be said against the present strength of the Spanish King; Now it remaineth, that you hear what can be objected against his wisdom and justice in Civil Government: For as necessary are Justice and Prudence for a peaceable regiment, as Force and Policy in time of Wars. To censure his wisdom, will argue small wisdom in me, who do both know and acknowledge it to be my duty to think well (as I have said) of all Princes, and not to examine their actions, nor look into the mysteries of their secret enterprises; And yet because his favorites and friends spare not to report whatsoever their wicked hearts can imagine against our Sovereign, I may boldly presume to commit to your secret view what others have published in prejudice of his wisdom and justice, especially since I intend not to discover any hidden oversights, but such as are known to the world for most manifest errors. These unto him that hath leisure to enter into considerations of them all, would fall out to be very many; but my purpose is at this time but to acquaint you with four, and of these four I will deliver you my opinion in this manner. I hold it first for a great oversight, that being bound by oath to rule and Govern in the Low-Countries by Deputies, and principal Officers being born within the Limits of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, he contrary to his Oath and all good policy, hath ruled the said Countries by proud and disdainfull Spaniards.

Dionthus de Bello Belgico Silva Cbit ai.
The first Error of the Spanish King in governing the Low-Countries by Spaniards.

For although a Magistrate loveth virtue, and hateth vice, embraceth justice, and disliketh oppression, possesseth all good qualities, and entertaineth scant any kinde of ill disposition; yet if he cannot accommodate himself unto the nature of those subjects which are committed unto his charge, instead of Peace and tranquillity, he shall occasion and nourish among them discord and dissension: For proof whereof I shall need to alledge no other examples, but the troubles and civil wars, which in these few years have (as I have said) turned the prosperity, wealth and riches of *Flanders* into Poverty, Ruine, and desolation. For whosoever will considerately look into the causes of these troubles, shall finde that they have proceeded principally from the contrariety of the natures and dispositions of the Spaniards, and of the Flemings, because the one never learned to command with a spirit of meekness and lenity, and the

other

other could never endure to be ruled by proud and arrogant Officers, but have alwayes been far better governed by the Courtesie and Clemency of Women, then by the severity and rigour of Men.

And truly, although *Nimrod* began his reign with cruelty and violence, as the Scriptures testifie; and it hath been, and it is a question disputable, Whether it be better that the Ministers of Kings and Princes should be severe and cruel, or gentle and courteous; yet the wiser sort are of opinion, that Humanity and Gentleness is both more commendable and necessary; especially where the People that is to be governed is milde by Nature, gentle in condition, and no way inclined to conceive well of cruelty. And certainly whosoever shall busie himself in reading many Chronicles, shall undoubtedly finde in them, that more Kingdoms, Dominions and Seignories have been overthrown and ruinated by the cruelty of under-Officers, then by the severity of the higher Powers: For in Histories men shall see, that even those people who lived many yeers in peace, without knowing what belonged to the besieging of a Town, to the maintrining of a Camp, or to the entertaining of any Domesticall sedition, have been enforced by the barbarous and Cruel Tyranny of wicked Officers, to prefer Wars before Peace, and the effusion of blood, before the conservation of their lives.

The Province of *Gracia*, after that it had fought and gained many Battels, subdued sundry Nations, and triumphed over infinite Enemies, was at the last overthrown and destroyed by the wickednesse and cruelty of their Governors. The iniquity and cruelty of *Appius Claudius* shewed unto *Virginus* his Daughter, changed the state of *Rome*, and was the onely cause that their form and manner of Civil Government was altered. The Ancestors of the same Flemmings, which of late years have borne Arms against King Philip of *Spain*, not being able to brook and endure the Indignities and Injuries of those Officers which king *Philip* of *France* (surnamed The Fair) set over them, took out of Prison a poor Weaver, and made him their Head, rebelled against their king, and killed all the Frenchmen that were in *Flanders*. The People of *Sicilie*, moved thereunto by the barbarous cruelty of such French Governors as Tyrannized over them, slew in one night all the Frenchmen that were in that kingdom, and opened the bellies of as many women of their own Nation as were with childe by Frenchmen, onely to destroy the fruit of their womb.

How many times have the People of *England*, the Subjects of *France*, and the Inhabitants of *Spain* rebelled for the same occasion? Yea, in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, whose Predecessors were driven out of all that ever they had in *Switzerland*, for the great Tyranny which was used by him whom they placed for their Lieutenant. And in truth, less grievous and offensive are the Injuries which Princes themselves do unto their Subjects, then those which proceed from the enmity and malice of their Officers; and certainly much more dangerous to a Princes State are the Extortions, Cruelties and Exactions of inferiour Magistrates, then

then of those unto whom as well the Magistrates as the Subjects are accountable. This is first proved by the force and efficacy of Reason it self, because every particular man can better endure to be wronged by the Master then by the Servant; for that the Indignitie and base Condition of the wrong-doers many times increaseth the grief and discontentment which is conceived upon occasion of an Injury sustained. Secondly the Common People hating alwaies much more the evill and tyrannical Government of an Inferior Magistrate, then of the Superior Powers, think it far better to have a bad Prince, who wil be Governed and directed by good Counsellors, then to live under wicked Officers authorised to Rule and Govern them by a good and vertuous Prince. For, say they, a wicked Prince liveth at ease in his Kingly Palace, giveth himself unto pleasure, followeth his delights, and rejoyceth in the Company of his vain and foolish Favorites; and these are most commonly the worst things that he doth; But the wicked Magistrate studieth continually, how to commit Violence, to invent new Exactions, to trouble and torment the common People, to clipp their Wings, to deflowre their Children, to dishonest their Wives, and to seize upon their Goods, to withhold their Lands, and to violate and break their Priviledges. These are the harmes that proceed from the bad Magistrate, the remembrance of which is most greivous, the pain excessive, the beginning odious, and the end execrable. The consideration whereof maketh me think not onely ours, but all other Estates and Kingdomes most happy, which are governed by such Princes as are borne in the same Kingdoms which they Govern; And those contrariwise most unfortunate, and subject unto infinite miseries, which are ruled by Forain Princes: The consideration whereof made many kingdoms not to accept and acknowledge for their Kings the lawful Children of their deceased Sovereignes, because they were born in Forrain Countries. The which consideration (as it seemeth) had sometimes place in *England*, because amongst other Statutes of this Realme, there is one to enable and make the Children of our Kings which are born in other Countries capable of the Crown of *England*. Lastly the consideration whereof moveth many grave and wise Politicians to be of opinion, that the Princes are not overwise and discreet which labour all the daies of their lives to Conquer and subdue Forain Kingdoms; For after that they have attained the desired Fruits of their desired Labour and Travaile, what have they gotten worthy of their paines and charges? They have added somewhat to their former Reputation, They have increased their yearly Revenues of their Crown, They have (as it becometh good Husbands) augmented the Talent which God bestowed upon them; And what is all this, but a thing that glistereth and is no Gold? a shew of Reputation, that is no true Glory? and a Representation of great profit than can have no long continuance? For if this happie and glorious Conqueror shall leave his natural Country, and govern in person his new Conquered Kingdome, what sorrowes, what inconveniencies, what troubles, dangers and vexations will follow thereof? His natural Subjects will complain that they are forsaken, and the Conquered will not long like of his Government; The former will find Fault with his Deputies, and the later will desire his room, rather then his presence; The one will not think him worthy to enjoy his own, and the other will

*Unhappy misfortune
being ruled by
forainers*

will esteem all that he getteth theirs, because they presume that it is gotten with the goods and wealth of the Country which they call theirs; So he becometh a stranger unto his own, and being daily amongst his own, his own will not know him; And that which is most greivous, if his own chance to rebell, as many have done in their Sovereignes absence, he is faine to imploy strangers to suppress them; And if his Strangers happen to revolt, he must either make a Butchery of his own, to subdue them, or lose in a few daies that which was gotten in many years: I shall not need to stand upon the proof hereof, I have cleared that by many examples, in the beginning of this discourse; And therefore I will now come unto the second Error not inferior, but rather greater then the first.

The Spaniards a Error in not granting Liberty of Conscience unto his Subjects in Flanders.

It is an usuall Policie amongst Princes, when they have given their loving Subjects just occasion of discontentment, to yeild them some manner of satisfaction whereby their alienated mindes may be Changed; and their natural Affections enforced to return. But the King of *Spain* being neither mindful of his Policy, nor careful (as it should seem) to maintain and keep his own, having alienated the hearts and estranged the Affections of his kinde and tender Subjects, by an indiscreet toleration of bad and leud Officers, is so far from pacifying their Wrath, as that he provoketh them unto further Anger and discontentment, by refusing to condescend unto a most reasonable Request, which not they alone by their Ambassadors, but also other Princes for them make unto him: For after that the Low Countries by the example of the Kingdoms of *Poland*, *Swedland*, *Denmark*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *England*; together with the Common-wealth, Dukedoms, Principalities, Counties Palatines, and other Dominions and free cities of *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *Wittenberge*, and other Provinces of *Germany*, fell from Popery unto the profession of Gods true Religion, they desired of their King that they have liberty of conscience; and without danger of a Spanish inquisition profess that Religion wherein they were fully resolved to live and die; But the King thinking it not convenient, or bebecoming the Royall Majesty of a Prince, to yeild unto any extraordinary Petition, were it never so humble or reasonable, of his Subjects, refuseth to satisfie this request; For which his refusing, as many as favor him, or his cause, alleage these reasons, First that Men of two Religions can hardly live in Peace and quietnes together in one Estate. Secondly, that these suppliants have been and are still the cause of all troubles and seditions in the Low-Countries. Thirdly, that he had faithfully promised the Popes holiness never to entertaine or maintaine any other then the present Roman Religion, within any of his Kingdoms or Dominions. Fourthly, that such a toleration as was demanded by his Subjects, cannot be warranted by the example of any Kings or Princes of later or former times. Fifthly, that the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* having had the like motion made unto them by their natural and most loving Subjects, could never be moved to condescend to their humble Petitions.

And lastly, that it was not seemly for his Majesty to be directed by other Princes what to yeild or not to yeild unto his Subjects, especially since he both held and knew himself to be very well able to enforce

force his rebellious and heretical Subjects to submit themselves unto the profession of that Religion which his Subjects in *Spain* and in other his dominions do profess.

These are in brieft all the reasons that ever I could heare alledged by any man for the justification of his refusal; and to the end that his error may not be coloured or maintained by the shew and shadow of these simple reasons, I will briefly confute every one of them in order. True it is that there is no streighter tie, no surer stay, no stronger hold to conjoyn and knit the hearts of Subjects together, then is the conformitie and unitie of religion; and that the readiest way to sever and separate their Affections is to set them at strife and variance for Religion; In regard whereof diverse wise men and grave counsellors have advised their Kings to take heed that no kinde of heresie creep into their kingdoms, to resist the first beginning of any heresie whatsoever, and to foresee that no new opinion enter into the hearts of their Subjects; and if any by chance happen to finde never so small entrance, to labor by all meanes possible to remove the same. For variety of opinions easily ingendred, findeth meanes to increase without great difficultie, and having once penetrated, into the interior cogitations of mens hearts, so ravisheth their senses, blindeth their eyes, and obscureth their judgements, that they can neither see, nor discern the truth from falshood, nor the light from darkness, but so cleave and hold fast on their opinions, that they will almost as soon and as willingly depart from their lives as from their heresies. But if by reason of not opposing and withstanding the beginning and increase of opinions, the number of Subjects professing a Religion contrary to their Kings, be once grown to be equal or greater then the multitude of those which agree with him in opinion, there are but two waies to reforme and order this disorder. The one to command (as *Dagabert* King of France did) that all they that profess not the same religion which their King doth, shall by a certain time appointed, depart out of his Realme, and that those who remaine within the limits of his kingdome, beyond the day prefixed, shall be held as Enemies unto the State, and therefore be reputed as worthie of present death. The other, to permit them to continue in their Country, and to enjoy liberty of conscience: The which way because it draweth highest unto humanitie, seemeth unto mee best to bee followed: For since mens consciences ought to be free and at libertie, since no man may rightfully be deprived of the benefit and commoditie of his Conntrey, without some offence committed worthy of banishment; since the life and wellfare of their Subjects is recommended unto Princes; since the fault that is committed by their Sufferance cannot be well punished without great prejudice unto their honor and reputation, and briefly since the life may be more beneficial then the death of such Subjects unto their Kings, it should undoubtedly be great Tyranny to deprive them either of their lives or of their Country. But we are commanded in the Scriptures to reject him that is an Heretick after one or two admonitions: We are told, that he that will not be obedient unto the Church, must be unto us as an Heathen man, or a Publican. And we are willed to take heed that no man deceive us, and that we keep not company with such men; how then shall the religious converse with the Reprobate? How shall the Papist live with the Protestant? And how can a Prince maintain both in

one Kingdome, in one City, in one Town, in one house? This is all that can be alleaged against us out of the word of God, and by these words the Protestants are not commanded to shun the Papists, nor the Papists to avoid the Protestants; only we are all in general taught to beware of vain Philosophers, of men delighting in many speeches, of such as with vanity of words excuse sins, and mock at the Menaces and judgements of God; we are forbidden to give any credit to their Philosophie, and humane reasons, to put any confidence in their Traditions in their Fables, to be moved any thing at all with their Miracles, to participate with them in their Doctrine and Ceremonies, and to admit them to conference or communication with us; this commandement stretcheth not unto men varying somewhat from us in Religion; these words forbid not the true worshippers of God to converse with them that worship God truly, but not in the same manner in all respects as they do; For if this were a general commandement, then all men not being well instructed or perswaded in Religion, should not be admitted into the company of Christians. The Church of God from the beginning hath withstood and infringed this commandement; yea our Saviour Iesus Christ should seem to have given contrary commandements unto his Apostles, unto his Disciples: For, when he willed them to go and preach his word unto all Nations, as well unto the *Jewes* as unto the *Gentiles*, unto the beleivers as unto the unbelieving, Is not this Commandement contrary unto the former? Or could they as they were commanded, teach the Infidels, or instruct the ignorant without conversing with them? did not he, whose word is a Lanthorn unto our Feet, whose life must be our guide, whose Actions must be our imitation, daily converse with Publicans, with Pharises, with Sadduces, with all sorts of people, never having respect of men, nor caring of what profession they were, because the end of his coming was to save the Sinner, and to convert the Infidel? And hath he not said, that two shall be in one bed, whereof the one shall be received, and the other rejected? And doth not this saying import that the true Christians shall converse with the Schismatics of the world? Did not *Abell* live with *Cain* untill he was murdered by *Cain*? Did not *Seth* and *Enoch*, both beleiving in God, dwell amongst the other Children of *Adam*, who lived without Religion, without any knowledge of God? *Abraham* was commanded by God to leave his native Country, and to go to seek a new Habitation amongst men not knowing nor worshiping of God; *Isaack* swore friendship and Alliance with *Abimelech* an Infidel, and *Jacob* dwelt with *Laban* an Idolator.

But these and the Prophets of God were men so well instructed in Gods word, so affected thereunto, so willing to observe every Precept thereof, and so unwilling to give any occasion of offence in what Company soever they came, that they lived in peace with all men, they exhorted all men unto peace; and there was no man so ungodly that could receive any loss, detriment, scandal, or offence by their company: Men are not so in these daies; And therefore the like effects will not follow of their company: And yet in these daies the unbelieving may not onely, but are also commanded to abide with the believers, and the believers are enjoined to dwell with the unbelieving; for the woman that hath an husband that believeth

believeth not, if he be content to dwell with her, let her not (saith the Scripture) forsake him; for the unbelieving husband is sanctified by his wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, because the Faith of the believer hath more power to sanctifie Mariage then the wickedness of the other to pollute it: And the Scripture goeth further, saying, what knowest thou O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? Or what knowest thou O man whether thou shalt save thy wife? Why then there cometh a benefit by suffering the Reprobate to converse with the Religious; the Faith of the one may sanctifie the other; and the believer may chance to save him that believeth not; and were it not then impious, wicked and irreligious to deprive the one of the societie, and of the instructions of the other? But they will not live together in peace and quietness. How know you that? or what shall cause variance betwixt them? forsooth the varietie of their Religion.

But may not they be forbidden to argue of matters of Religion? and take away all kinde of disputation and argument; and do you not therewithall remove all cause of contention? know you not that knowledg cometh partly by hearing? and if they should heare one another with mildness and modestie, would not the Faith of the believers be able to confound and confute the Infidelitie of them that believe not? the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, as it was seen by *Elias*, who being a man subject to the like Passions as we are, prayed earnestly that it might not raine, and it rained not on the Earth for three years and six months, and he prayed againe, and the Heaven gave Raine and the Earth brought forth her Fruit. The prayer of Faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed any sin it shall be forgiven him. If then by prayer raine is staid, and raine may be procured; if by prayer health be restored, and sin be forgiven, shall not the prayer of the faithfull availe much? or shall not the Infidel be benefited or saved by their prayer? faith is the ground of things that are hoped for, and the evidence of things that are not seen.

By faith *Abell* offered unto God a greater Sacrifice the *Caine*. By faith *Enoch* was taken away that he should not see death. By faith *Noah*, being warned of God, of the things that were as yet not seen, moved with reverence, prepared the Ark to the saving of his Household. By faith *Abraham* obeyed God, when he was called to go into a place which he should afterwards receive for an Inheritance. By faith *Sarah* received strength to conceive Seed, and was delivered of a Child when she was past Age. By faith *Moses* forsook Egypt. By faith he with his people passed through the red Sea as on dry Land. By faith the Walls of *Jericho* fell downe after they were compassed about seven dayes. And by faith the Prophets subdued Kingdoms, stopped the mouthes of Lyons, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the Edge of the Sword, of weak were made strong, waxed valiant in Battaille, and turned to Flight the Armies of the *Aliens*. Then since faith is of this force, and efficacy, shall not the faithfull be able to convert them, by whose conversation they shall reape no small benefit? for if any man hath erred from the truth, saith *St James*, and some men hath converted him, know that he that hath called the sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins. And is it not a thing commendable before men,

acceptable unto God, and worth the labours of any good Christian to save a soul, and to hide a great multitude of sins? But to leave these Divine arguments, and to come unto humane reasons, because they are more pleasing and acceptable to children of this world, whom (mee thinketh) it should suffice for proof that *Papists* and *Protestants* may live in peace and quietness together, because that in *Poland* where there are many Religions professed, you seldome heare of any civil contention; and in *Switzerland*, in many Townes thereof, the *Papists* and *Protestants* eate together, lye in bed one with another, marry together, and that which is most strange, in one Church you shall have a Mass and a Sermon, and at one Table upon *Fish daies*, *Fish* and *Flesh*, the one for *Papists*, the other for *Protestants*. And whosoever shall look upon the present State of *Spaine*, or the present Government of *Italy* in this Age, in which Countries there is but one Religion professed, shall finde no greater peace, no more assured Friendship, no streighter League of Amicitie amongst them then there is amongst the people of *Poland*, *Switzerland*, and other Nations which give friendly entertainment unto pluralitie of Religions; neither can any man say with reason, that the *Protestants* of *Flanders* have been the occasion of the unnaturall variance and civill dissention which now troubleth their Country: For there is no man that reverenceth the Magistrate, obeyeth the Laws of God and man, or fulfilleth the true sense and meaning of both Laws more willingly then they, as their Supplications, their Letters, their Apologies do testifie. It is not they, but their Enemies; not they but their evill Governors; nor the Inhabitants of their Country, but the Strangers sent into the Country, and delighted with the pleasures and the profits thereof, that have occasioned these Troubles. Neither is it to be thought that so many Princes, as the King of *France*, the Queen of *England*, the Archduke of *Austria*, and the late Duke of *Anjou*, being all strangers unto them, would ever have undertaken their defence and protection, if they had thought or seen that the principal cause of Sedition might justly be imputed unto them. It was the Tyranny of *Don John de Austria*, the Crueltie of the Duke of *Alva*, the intolerable Pride of the *Spaniards* in general, the unreasonable exaction of the Hundreth, the Twentieth, and the Tenth Penny of every mans substance, together with other Causes mentioned in the beginning of this discourse, that caused the forcible distraction of them from the usuall and dutifull Obedience, Devotion, service, and observance of their Prince. In the time of *Philip the Faire* King of *France*, as now in the Raigne of *Philip* the second King of *Spaine* (whereby it may appeare that the name of *Philip* hath been farall unto this Country) there were the like troubles in *Flanders* as there are now; and as now, there were some of the Country it selfe that favoured *Spaine* more then their owne libertie; so then there were many *Lillari* that rendred the *French* Kings Factions more then the safetie of their owne Conntry; and as now, so then those *Lillari* together with the King of *France* imputed the cause of the Troubles and Wars unto the peevish willfullness of the poor *Flemings*, and not to the perverse obstinacy and obdurate malice and crueltie of the *French* King and his Councillors. Moreover, as now, so then, diverse flourishes and shewes of peace were made unto the *Flemings*; not because they that offered those conditions of peace meant to performe them, but to make the world believe that they

they were desirous of Peace; whereas indeed their tender of peace was but to save themselves from the hazard of a Battel; when they saw there was no way but to take it either with some great disadvantage, or to forsake it with great dishonour: Such offers of peace were those that have been lately made unto the United Provinces; and such were they that were tendered many years ago, by which the Spaniards received alwaies some benefit; sometimes he got a Town, a Hold, or a Castle; sometimes he distracted some of the Nobility from the Prince of *Oranges* faction, and at other times he avoided some eminent danger which could not otherwise be escaped. This will appear most true and manifest unto as many as shall read divers Apologies set out by the Prince of *Orange* and the States of the Low-Countries. And therefore I know not with what conscience, or with what shew of truth, the cause of this Civil Discord may be ascribed unto the Subjects of *Flanders*, and not unto the king of *Spain* and his evil Officers.

The first and second Reasons are sufficiently refuted; Now to the third.

He hath promised the Popes Holiness not to admit any other Religion but his in any part of his kingdoms or Dominions. How is his promise proved? What ground hath it? Upon what Reasons standeth it? He is in some manner subject unto the Pope; Be it; he holdeth all or most of his kingdoms and dominions of him: Let it be so; he beareth the title of the Catholick king, as an especial gift from him or his Predecessors; It shall not be denied. Lastly, it is he whose friendship and amity his father willed him to embrace and entertain; this must also be granted: But what of all this? He may not break promise with his Holiness. True, if the promise be possible; for no man is bound to things impossible. And is this promise impossible? It is; or at least-wise like to a promise that standeth upon impossibilities; for whatsoever cannot be done by a Prince without offence to God, without effusion of blood, without ruin of his Estate, and without manifest and great prejudice unto his honour and dignity, that may in some respect be esteemed impossible; and whosoever maketh any such vow or promise, first, it had been very good that he had never made it; and next, it were very convenient never to put the same in execution; because the sin that hurteth but one man alone, is much more tolerable then that which may endanger many. This promise therefore, if it were never made, but suggested, requireth no performance; and if it were once made, it likewise ought not to be performed, because it is impossible, and cannot be maintained without great effusion of blood, without hurt unto many, and prejudice unto a whole estate. From this promise therefore unto the fourth Reason, a Reason almost as easie to be refuted as to be repeated. For the Emperor *Constant* maintained the Corps and Colledge of *Arrianus*, not for any affection that he bare unto them, but because he thought it part of his charge and duty to conserve and preserve the life of his Subjects. *Theodosius* surnamed the Great, who was always a most mortal enemy unto their opinion, did likewise permit them to live in company with his other Subject. And *Valens* and *Valentin*, whereof the one was an *Arrian*, and the other a Catholick, suffered men of both Religions to live under their Government. The Emperor *Ferdinand* granted leave and liberty unto his subjects of *Silecia* and *Litwania*, which

Memories
de France
Carion.
Sleidanus

which are Provinces of *Bohemia*, to change their Religion. And not long after him, *Maximilian* the Emperor licensed them to build Churches after the manner and fashion of Protestants. Besides the Pope himself, the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Florence*, and *Baviera*, together with the Seigniorie of *Venice* suffer *Jewes* to live in their Country. And the Kings of *Poland* and *Moscovia* vouchsafe to suffer a number of *Tartarians* and *Mahometists* to lead their lives in their Countries, Imitating therein the example of *Constantine* the great, who after that he had established Christian Religion in *Rome*, excluded not any *Pagans* and *Infidels* out of *Rome*. In the Kingdom of *Poland*, the *Greek* and *Roman* Religion was at one time a long while professed; And now there are many *Lutherans*, *Catholiques*, *Anabaptists* and *Calvinists*.

Lastly it cannot be denied (and this methinketh should move the King of *Spain* most of all) that his Father *Charles* the 5 after that he had fought a long while with the Princes of *Germany* which profess: *Lutherisme*, being aided in the same Warrs by the Pope and all the Princes of *Italy*, granted at the length that Peace unto the Protestants which is called the Peace of *Auspsurge*. Considering therefore, that al these Popes, Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes and Barons, having no less regard then the King of *Spain*, of their Soules health, & hoping to have no worse part then he in the kingdom of Heaven did permit & do yet permit the professed and sworn Enemies of Christ and of his Gospell, namely the *Jewes*, to live, nay to be born, and to enrich themselves within their kingdoms, Dominions, and Principalities; What Shame, Dishonor, or prejudice can it be unto the King of *Spains* Catholick Majesty, to give leave unto his loving and trustie Subjects to adore and worship the same God, which he himself honoreth and reverenceth in such forme and manner as they desire? I know not what should be the cause that he, who is so desirous in all other things to follow his Fathers Deeds, Examples, and Counsells, doth not vouchsafe to imitate him in this Toleration, which will be acceptable unto his Subjects, answerable unto their desires, agreeable unto Gods word, and very profitable for the Advancement of his own reputation. It is (to come unto the fift Reason) because the Queen of *England* and the King of *France* will not yeeld unto any such Toleration in their severall kingdoms: Alas, neither the example of the one, nor the other can serve to strengthen his cause. For he hath not the like Authority in *Flanders* as they have in *France* and *England*: They are free, and he is bound; They are tied to no conditions, and he is fastened unto many; and especially unto these, nor to break their ancient Priviledges, nor to innovate any thing without the consent of the States of the Country, by whom he is to be directed in all matters of great counsel and importance. Besides there must needs follow farr greater Inconvenience unto him then unto her, by denying Liberty of conscience unto their Subjects: For, his are so many that require the same, that above 30000 departed at one time out of *Flanders* because he refused their humble Request; and the number of Traditioners in *England* is so little, that all that were of any note and name amongst them, were heretofore and are at this present reduced, into one little Island, nay into no great house of a little Island; But the late King of *France*, who was esteemed one of the wisest Princes of *Europe* would
not

not in any wise suffer two Religions to be professed in his kingdom; but because he would plant one onely there, he made wars a great while against his own subjects, destroying their houses, wasting their Fields, ruining their Cities, and Massacring their persons. But who gave him Counsell so to do? Was it not the King of *Spain*, or his Pensioners? And what advantage got he therefore? Truly no other but the ruin and desolation of his Country: And what end had he of his war before he died? Forsooth such an end as made him to repent that ever he undertook those wars: And what continuance had these wars? Certainly they lasted above thirty years, and the Protestants are now stronger then ever they were. And what issue is come of these French troubles? Undoubtedly the issue was such, that whereas the Realm was divided but into two Factions, a little before the Kings death there were three; and of those three the last was most unjust, pernicious, and execrable; For in the same one Papist killed another, the son bore Arms against the father, the brother against the seed of his mothers womb, and the subjects (being in their opinion of a good Religion) against their King, whose Religion was as good or better then theirs. It is not then the French kings examples that moveth him; It becometh not his Catholick Majesty to be directed by other Princes what to grant or what to deny to his subjects: This is the last, and in effect the best of his Reasons. For it is usual amongst Princes, and therefore no shame to crave counsel, advice and direction one of another, in matters of great weight and moment; and happy hath that Prince been alwayes accompted who could and would follow such advice as his faithfull Friends abroad gave him: Thence it cometh that Princes send Ambassadors one unto another, that they crave conference one with another, that they have oftentimes Interviews and solemn Meetings; and according to this custom he either dissembleth egregiously, or meant truly, that the Ambassadors sent by the Emperor, the Queen of *England*, and other Princes of late years to *Cullen*, should have ended all contentions and controversies betwixt him and his Subjects. Again, this was no direction but an admonition, no counsel but a request, and such a request as might rather have honoured then disgraced him: For had it not been a great glory and commendation unto him, not onely to have listened, but also to have submitted himself unto the motion and final judgment of so many Honourable and Princely Intercessors? Was it, think you, a dishonour unto *Alphonso* King of Castile, and to *Garsias* King of *Navarre*, that they referred the contention betwixt them for the bounds and limits of their Kingdoms unto the judgement and decision of *Henry* the second, King of *England*? Wise Princes rather then they will enter into wars, or being at wars continue therein, do usually commit their controversies sometimes to the determination of their equals, and sometimes to their far inferiours; and although the cause be far greater, and of more weight then the controversie betwixt the Spanish King and his Subjects was, yet they have been content to stand to their doom and judgement. The contention betwixt *Arsabazenes* and *Zerxes*, was one of the most famous and intricate questions that hath been betwixt Prince and Prince; *Arsabazenes* challenged the Kingdom of the Medians, because he was the first begotten son of his father

Herodotus.

Darius;

Darius; and *Zerxes* thought himself worthy to be preferred, because his Father was but a private man when his Brother was begotten, and a King whenas he begat him; and therefore his Fathers private Patrimony belonged in his opinion unto his Brother, but the Kingdom was his own Inheritance; the rather because *Artobazenes* came not onely of a private man, but also of a Mother and Grandfather by the Mothers side which were not Princes, whereas both his Mother and Grandfather had kings to their Fathers. This contention by mutual consent was referred unto the Uncle *Artipherus*, who after due examination of the Cause, gave the Kingdom unto *Zerxes*; and this judgement hath ever since remained, and been held for a lawfull sentence and notable president to be imitated in the like occasion even in these dayes.

Holinshed
Pol. Vir-
gil. Boe-
tius.

There are few or no Historiographers of *France*, *England* or *Scotland*, that mention not the notable controversie betwixt *John Balliol*, *Robert Bruce*, and *John Hastings*, Husbands unto the three Daughters of *David* King of *Scotland*, and Co-heirs of that Kingdom after the death of their Brother *Alexander*; and by common consent of all Historians, this rare and strange contention was referred unto *Edward* the first, King of *England*, who chose forty, or some say eighty, the one half English men, and the other half Scottish men, who having thoroughly discussed every mans right, gave sentence for *John Balliol*, who descended of the eldest Daughter of the King of *Scotland*; which Award was confirmed by the King.

Annales.
Flandria.

The Chronicles of *Flanders*, and our Histories testifie, that *Henry* the second, and *Philip* King of *France*, and after them *Philip* surnamed The Fair, and the Flemings his subjects, after they had been over-wearied with a long continuance of most cruel and sharp wars, the first two committed their difference unto their Archbishops, and the later unto men of meanner condition; and yet both the first and the last stood unto their Arbitrement. I could alledge many other Examples to this purpose; but they would rather dilate than discuss my purpose; and therefore that which hath been said shall suffice for the confutation of part of this last Reason; And the rest shall be confuted more conveniently in another place.

The King
of Spains
third Er-
ror in en-
tring in-
to League
with the
Guifards.

Then to the third Error. Seeing that his purposes failed him in *Flanders*, that the Hollanders were continually secured against him by the Queen of *England*, & that the Princes & Cities Protestants increased daily as well in number as in power and authority, he thinking that it would redound greatly to his glory, honour and reputation to professe himself to be head and Protector of the Holy League which was intended to be made against all Princes, or any other whatsoever professing Lutheranism, entred into League with the Pope, the Princes of *Italy*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the House of *Guise*, with expresse condition, that he as head, and they as principal Adherents should labour, travel, and endeavour to the uttermost of their power to subvert all those which made profession of a contrary Religion unto theirs. To sound the depth of this Alliance, and to understand whether the same shall be profitable or glorious, honest or commendable for him, it shall be very expedient to enter into a particular consideration of the powers, qualities, conditions and

and means of every one of these Allies; For although some, or most of them have been spoken of before, when we handled their abilities and means to hurt and annoy him; yet it shall not be now amiss to declare what strength and sufficiency they have to help and further his intents and purposes: The Pope as Christs Vicar, the Holy Father of the Church, the lawfull successor of *St. Peter*, and the chief Protector of the Roman and the Catholick Faith (for all these are his Titles that he challengeth, as proper and peculiar to himself) will think that his sacred Holiness is greatly wronged, if I should not vouchsafe him the first place in this Alliance; For albeit he very seldom entereth into League with Princes that are of less might then himself; yet be his confederates never so great, let their charges never so much exceed his, and their Armies (be they by Sea or by Land) far excel his, as well in number as in valour, yet he claimeth a Prerogative to be chief Patron of the confederacy, and Umpier and Arbitrator of all contentions that may arise thereof; The most famous Enterprize that hath been of late years, was the Attempt made at *Lepanto* against the Turk, by *Pius Quintus*, King *Philip* that now is, and the Venetians; For the performance whereof the Spanish King and the Seigniorie of *Venice* were at far greater charges, imployed more Gallies, and greater Forces then his Holiness; and yet the Reverend Father by reason of his usurped prerogative, must needs have the honor of the first place in that League; and whatsoever debates or difference fell out in any thing concerning the said League, the same was to be referred unto his Holiness, and to receive no other end then such as he should decree and determine; For fear therefore of his heavy indignation, I will not presume to defraud him of his honour. The Princes of *Italy* shall have the second place, and the Peers of *France* the last. It shall be easie for any man to make conjecture, and give his judgement of the Popes power and puissance, that will consider that his City of *Rome*, which is the chief seat, and the greatest part of his strength, retaineth not so much as the bare shadow of her ancient vertue; that she loseth her Reputation, Prosperity, Peace and Dignity, as soon as she beginneth to be troubled or molested with the factions and partialities of the contentious *Ursini* and *Colonesi*, two notable Families of *Rome*; that a petty Duke of *Ferrara* hath presumed to withstand the Popes Ordinances and Commandments, that the Florentines waied many years against him, that the Venetians make no account of his Forces; that the nigher any Prince joyneth unto him, the less he esteemeth him; and lastly, that a very small Army of *Charles* the fifth, sacked, not many years ago, his Pontifical Seat, and put him to such a ransom as best liked the victorious and conquering Emperor. But his Excommunications are more feared then his Forces, and he hath much more money then might; I must needs confesse that many Princes have been excommunicated by him; but because I shall have occasion to shew what slender accompt both Kings and meaner Potentates have made of his turbulent and thundering Excommunications, I will leave them, and come unto his demean, unto his treasure: For the better determination whereof I think it convenient to declare unto you what kinde of men our Popes are of late dayes; some of them are poor Inquisitors, of base parentage, brought up in beggery, advanced by corruption

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and preferred unto that Dignity by Bribes, Rewards and Simony; And they who have been of best birth amongst them, have been but the younger brothers of Dukes of *Florence*, of *Ferrara*, of *Mantua*, or of some like mean Prince, and all of them have most commonly spent their poor patrimony, and the small gains of their former life in the attaining of their Pontifical Dignity. Besides when they come unto the height of that Authority, either they spend their Revenues prodigally (as did *Paulus Tertius*, who in less then fifteen years wasted 25 millions of Gold; or spare the same thriftily to buy some estate for their children, as did *Gregory* the 13th; so that what with prodigal spending, what with extream covetousness tending to the advancement of their posterity, the Popes have not much money otherwise to help their Allies and Confederates. Moreover, who so shal consider that their yearly Revenues are mightily decreased, by reason that *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, *England*, and most of *France*, *Flanders* and *Germany*, are fallen from their Obedience, and vouchsafe not to send them yearly such Tributes, Pensions, Tenths and other Commodities as they were wont to receive from them, must needs understand and confess, that there can arise no great profit from their Alliance and Confederacy: The terrour of their interdictions, of which some Princes, more Religious then wise, have in times past made some small accompt; The regard of their Authority, of which when their vertues were more then now they are, greater reckoning was made then is at this present, & the converting of their *Crociados* which were wont to be employed in holy Wars, into profane uses, are the onely means and benefits wherewith they are now able to pleasure their best friends. Leaving them therefore to their passions and extreme sorrows conceived for the small hope which they have to recover their losses, which is in no respect answerable to the extremity of their desire, I will descend unto the Princes of *Italy* as from a mountain unto a Molehill.

These Princes if they were to give aid and succour unto a King of *France*, unto an Emperor, or to any other Prince or Potentate pretending some Right, Title, or Interest unto some Dukedom or Estate of *Italy*, may perhaps yeeld such help and Assistance as happily may further such a Princes Enterprise: But as for such a League, and such forces as shall be sufficient to hasten the utter overthrow and subversion of all Protestant Princes, or to revenge the great injuries and indignities lately endured by the Spanish king, they are far unfit and unable to gather together any such strength; and he is greatly deceived that carrieth such an opinion of their might and power, The best guard that they have is the reciprocal fear which one of them hath of another, the continual and great jealousy which is betwixt them, and the small and slender Love which one of them beareth unto another, every one of them not onely enveighing, but also withstanding by all means possible the advancement of the other, be it in wealth or in credit, in power or preheminance: Their Subjects are not warlike; their best Souldiers are (as you have heard) of no great value or estimation; their Courage is soon cooled, their Armies are quickly defeated; their best Captains by reason of their long Peace, are of mean experience, and their is scant any Town, City or Country that is not a witness of their Cowardise, Adversity, bondage and servitude; you shall hear hereafter what discommodities may

That the
Princes
of Italy
cannot
greatly
respect
the Spaniards.

may arise unto those Princes of *Italy* which have unadvisedly entered into this League, and therefore from them unto the Peers of *France*; These Princes are no other then Traitors, Rebels, and Conspirators against their Prince and Country; And therefore detestable before God, odious unto the world, and execrable unto their Posterity; For although Princes, according to the Common saying, like such Treason as any wife is beneficial unto them; yet all men hate and abhor Traitors, especially such as these be, who having received great honour, pleasure, and preferment of their King, did by all means possible endeavour to deprive him of his Crown, Scepter and Life: Their taking of many Towns, their purpose to seize upon the Kings own person, their desire to bring him to *Paris* as a Prisoner, their carriage towards him there, and their preparation, Army and Hostility against him after his departure from thence, do abundantly testify and declare their Treason; now what honour can it be unto the King of *Spain* to joyn and associate himself with such men as the world detesteth, all men abhor, and his own Spaniards will not onely hate, but also be ashamed to receive them into their Company, or to harbour them in their houses? For I find in the Histories of *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, that whenas the Emperor *Charles* the fifth intending to honour the Duke of *Burbon*, who had revolted from his King unto his service, prayed one of the chief and principal Dukes of *Spain* to lodge him in his Palace; the Duke shewing himself therein a greater Enemy to Traitors, then a Friend to Treason, answered the Emperor, that both he and his house were at his Majesties commandment; but if that it pleased him to lodge the Duke therein, he would set fire thereon as soon as the Duke should be out of it, as on a house infected with the Treason of *Burbon*. But *Francis* the first King of *France* used the like help of the Turks and Infidels to be revenged upon his Enemies; and *Lewis Sforza* Duke of *Milano* to make himself the better able to withstand their violence which went about to deprive him of his Estate, brought an Army of Turks into *Italy*; and it is commonly said, that the Queen of *England* was in the League with the Great Turk; Why then may not the king of *Spain* implore and use the help of his Friends in *France*, of whom because they are Christians and Catholicks, he may have far better assurance and confidence then of Turks and Infidells?

That the Spaniards can neither have profit nor honour by the Leagues.

Truly, I have heard the before mentioned French king greatly blamed for entering into League with the Turk, and his honour and reputation hath been, and still is so much blemished thereby, that a very wise and grave Author of our time, to cover his fault with some honest pretence, hath been enforced to distinguish how and in what manner a Christian Prince may be at league with the Turk; The causes for which a Christian Prince may (as he saith) enter into League and Amity with this common Enemy of Christians, are either to obtain Peace or Truce, or to end a contention and quarrel for any Dominion or Seigniorie, to have reparation and amends for wrong done unto him, or to entreat leave for his Subjects to trade & traffick into his Countries, and not to yeeld him any aid against his Enemies: And the same Author addeth, that the said *Francis* being continually assaulted by the Emperor *Charles* the 5th and by the king of *England* within his own Realm, and not being able to make his party good against them and other enemies, who at their instigation and request did put

Du Hall-
lan.

him oft times in great & manifest danger to lose his whole estate, was counselled by his wisest Friends for his better defence to joyn in amity with *Sultan Solimon*, who was better able then he to interrupt and cross the violent course which *Charles* the 5th took to make himself Lord and Monarch of all the world. Necessity therefore enforced *Francis* the first to enter into this League, without the which he had been in great perill and hazard of losing his whole Kingdom; For conservation whereof I read in Histories, that a Predecessor of the *Spanish* King called *Peter*, confederated himself with the King of *Bellimarine*, a *Sarizish*, married his Daughter and renounced his Faith and profession of a Christian. Considering therefore that necessity hath no law, that Commoditie and sweetness of Rule and Government, maketh many good Christians to forget themselves and their Duties; that extreame malice conceived and borne against an Enemy, hath constrained many Princes to seek to be in League with their very Adversaries; and that a noble and valiant heart detesteth nothing more then to yeild unto his Enemies, and laboureth by all meanes possible to avoid that dishonor; No man can can justly condemne *Francis* the first, or the Duke of *Milan*. Now touching the Queen of *England*, her Majesty having alwaies the feare of God before her eyes, and walking in his waies as much as any Prince of *Christendome*, hath alwaies thought no better of the *Turk* then he deserveth, as well because she hath nothing to do with him, as for that by reason of the great distance that is betwixt her and him, she hath less occasion to stand in fear of his forces then any other Prince of *Europe*; True it is that in regard of the late Traffick which some few of her Merchants have into *Turky*, to their great benefit and advantage, her Majestie hath suffered them to have their Agent there who carrieth not the name of Ambassador, as the Emperors, the French Kings, the *Spanish* Kings, the *Venetians* and other Christian Princes Ambassadors do, and yet his Credit is such, that either with favours or with presents (whereof the *Turke* is very desirous and covetous) he might have broken the League of peace and Truce which is betwixt *Spain* and him, to the *Spanish* Kings great hurt & detriment. But her Majestie had rather that the Histories of our time should mention her vertues, then declare her policies, and thinketh it far better that as all men of our Age commend her Beautie, her bountie and her goodness, so her after-Commers should have occasion to praise and extoll her constancy and Religious affection towards God and the Common wealth of Christendome. But to returne to the *Spanish* league with the Peeres of *France*, I think no good Christian can think better of them then of a *Turk*; and I am of opinion that the League and Amity of Turkish Infidels is more to be esteemed then the friendship of these Leaguers, more profitable and advantageous unto him that shall stand in need thereof, and more assured and firme unto any one that have occasion to rely thereupon; For since that these Rebels have deserved to lose their Lands and possessions, have incurred the odious and detestable Crime of Treason, and have worthily merited the name of Traytors and Conspirators, there can be no other League or Amity with them then is with Thieves and Felons, the societie and conversation with whome hath been in all Ages, and in all places accounted as most odious and execrable; yea by how much a Traitor is more odious and wicked then a Thief, by so much his Infamy, shame, and dishonour is greater

greater who associateth himself with a Conspirator, be it that he conspireth against his Prince, or against his Country, or against both. Such as a mans Companions are, such shall he be held to be in all mens opinions; and he that converseth daily with wicked men shall hardly be reputed an honest man.

The great and large Priviledges which belong unto Princes appointed by God to rule and governe his people, make me forbear to say so much as I might say in this place; and yet I may not spare to reprehend and condemne the bad Consciences of those Consciouſles Councellors who have perswaded the King of *Spain* to forget and forgo his honour, his Reputation, his blood, and his Parentage, to joyne himself with those who may increase the number, but not the Forces of his Allies. I have oftentimes heard say that the end honoureth all the rest of a mans life; that the elder a man is, the wiser he should be; that the Actions of all men that are placed in high degree and dignity, are subject to the view, the sight, the censure and judgement of all men; that a man may easily fall from the top of honor and glorie unto the bottom of shame and infamie; and briefly that all men with open mouth speake boldly and freely that of Princes when they are dead which they durst not muter whilest they lived. I could wish therefore, that either the vertues of the late French King, or the affinitie, conjunction and parentage that was betwixt these two Crownes, or the conformitie of their religion, or the remembrance of the greatness and power of *France* might have been able to have diverted and withdrawn the mightie Monarch of *Spain* from the Amitie of those Traitors and Felons of *France*, to live in peace, League and Amitie with his deare and beloved Brother of *France*. But the detestable vice of Ambition, which misleadeth the greatest and wisest Princes of the world, with a vaine hope of good success and prosperous fortune in all their enterprises, hath turned his love into hatred, and covered the spots and blemishes of true dishonor with a Cloak of false honor and reputation. And it seemeth that the custome of Princes is to receive into their protection such Subjects as other Princes have banished out of their Realms (although in truth this kinde of Clemency ought to be shewed and extended unto Princes only which are constrained by necessity to flie from their kingdoms, and not unto Subjects) for succouring of whom many Princes of great friends have become mortall Enemies; it seemeth (I say) that this custome doth somewhat excuse the Spanish Kings indiscretion in this action: But wise men consider not so much what men do as what they ought to do; and true Glory consisteth in vertue, and not in show or shadow of vertue; and as *Cesar* would not have her to wife who was more defamed by suspicion then by action, so it becometh the Princes of our time to hate those who are vicious, not in deed onely, but in common fame also; especially whenas it is in question whether the friendship of a kinsman be to be preferred before the Amitie of a Stranger; of a king before that of a Subject; of one that is equall in power to the greatest Prince of the world, before those who depend wholly upon the power and authoritie of others.

*Finis co-
ronat opus.*

And undoubtedly the Guisards of *France* have no other Credit, strength or reputation then that which hath been derived and given unto them by the late French King and his predecessors, the which in time will decay and

and returne unto the place and person from whence it came; even as rivers returne unto the Sea, from whence they have their first original and being. I may therefore boldly say, that the King of *Spain* hath carried himself very indiscreetly in entring into League with these Guisards for four principall causes.

Four
causes
proving
the *Spa-
niards* in-
discreti-
on in en-
tring in-
to League
with the
Guisards.

The first because the shame and dishonour which will arise thereby shal alwaies continue, and never be forgotten through length of time; or voluntary silence of the Authors and writers of our time.

The second, because the profit arising thereby will be of small continuance. The third because the quarrel betwixt him and France proceeding thereof will be both dangerous and immorall. The fourth, because the hatred ingendred by this quarrell will rekindle the fire of old dissensions, and revive the memorie of ancient rights, titles and Interests which the Crown of France pretendeth unto diverse States lately fallen unto the house of Spain. For the dishonor which is gotten by wicked waies, cannot so be buried in silence but that it will alwaies be reported by the Father unto the child, and by that child unto his posterity, alwaies finding increase and augmentation by the report which is made thereof.

Fama
crescit
eundo.

And it is and alwaies hath been the nature of man to remember one only error, evill deed or oversight of a Prince far better then many of his vertues, valiant exploits, or wise and discreet Actions; Witnesse the common consent and accord of all Historiographers as wel of ancient time as of our Age, who although in other things they be oftentimes very contrary the one unto the other, yet they agree very well in this point, that they all as it were with one mouth and one voyce, speak ill in their writings of the wisest Philosophers, Orators, Emperors, Kings, Princes and Captains that ever were in the world.

Plutarch
in his
life.

So the Author that greatly busied himself in commending *Alcibiades*, a great Philosopher saith, that as he did many notable deeds, spake many worthie sayings, and shewed many apparent Arguments of his great wit and Dexterity, so he was too delicate in his ordinary Diet, too dissolute in fond Love of foolish women, too inordinate in his daily banquets and too superfluous and effeminate in his usuall Attire; To maintain himself in which things he often times took dishonest rewards and was corrupted with unlawful Bribes. So hee that laboured to set forth the praises of *Marcus Cato*, a notable Senator of *Rome* would not conceale that he had lett out his money at Interest, that he became so severe in time that he took a very young damsell descended of base Parantage to Wife, when he was of such years as required not marriage. So *Plutarch* recounting the Valor, Magnanimitie, and vertues of *Titus Quintus Flaminius* and of *Philopæmon*, two notable Captains, was so bold as to say, that the one was Ambitious, Turbulent, and easie to be displeased; and the other conceited, opinionative, and very hard and difficult to be pleased.

So *Cajus Marius*, by the same Author, who for his valor was called the son of *Mars*, for his delicacy and effeminate behavior was surnamed the Child of *Venus*. So *Alexander* the great who is commended by many Authors for the greatest and mightiest Conqueror of the World, is reprehended by as many for that he was somewhat hateful for his vainglory, and imitated therein those vain Souldiers who are never well but when they

they are commending themselves; So *Cicero*, who for his excellency deserved to be called the Orator, was disgraced in this, that he was fearful and timorous as well in the field as in his Pleadings, and it is written of him that he never began to speak but with great fear and trembling. So *Pompey* surnamed the great, who had these qualities to make him well beloved, Temperance in his Life, Dexterity in Armes, Eloquence in his Speech, Faith and loyalty in his Word, good Grace in his behaviour, and an Amiable Carriage towards all men that had to deale with him, was hated, and in the end ruined, because he would endure no Superior. So *Julius Caesar*, who hath this commendation, that he took a thousand Cities by Assault, subdued more then 300 sundry Nations, took above a Million of Men prisoners, and slew better then an other Million in the Field (the least of which things the best Captain of our Age never was nor will be able to do) is greatly blamed, not only because he was indebted above 700000 Crowns before he bore any Office in *Rome*, but also for that he could not endure to have any companion in the administration of the *Roman* Commonwealth: So to be short, and to come to the Princes of our Age, diverse men spare not to speak very ill of *Charles* the first (although he was a most wise, vertuous, and valiant Prince) because he took the *Pope* prisoner at *Rome*, and shewed himself very hard and severe unto *Francis* the first of *France*, when he was his prisoner at *Madrid*, and whereas some commend his wisdom for resigning his Empire unto his Brother, and his Kingdoms unto his Son; Others reprehend his folly and pride therein, because he did it with a hope and full intention, as they say, to be chosen *Pope*, and with a purpose in his *Pope*-dome to give unto his Son all or most of those States which he held in *Italie* of the See of *Rome*, meaning thereby to leave in his house and Familie the Government, or the meanes to attain and usurpe the Regiment and Monarchie of all the world; By these Examples it is apparent, that the Prince who by any oversight hath made himself odious and contemptible, cannot possibly avoid shame and Infamie.

Guicciardine.

An unknown Author in Italian

And for so much as it becometh not any Prince to debauch and estrange the Subjects of another Prince from their obedience unto their King, the Spanish King shall in his life time, or after his death be reprehended, for that he hath perswaded and induced the French men to rebell against their Prince and Country, the which Frenchmen were wont (as I shewed you long sithence) to be counted and reputed the most true and loyall Subjects of the world.

Is it likely think you, that any man will spare him when he is dead, since during his life we reade in some histories, that his own Sonne, his French wife, the Prince of *Orange*, the Counts of *Edmond* and of *Horne*, the late Duke of *Alencon*, the Admiral of *France*, the Prince of *Condy*, the Queen of *Navarre*, and the last King of *France* with many other Princes and Potentates have been unnaturally Murdered, cruelly Poysoned, wrongfully done to Death, and horribly Massacred by his consent and Counsell, Commandement or Approbation? It is common in every mans mouth that he maketh no Conscience to rid his hands of his enemies by any manner of Wickedness, be it never so execrable and impious. His late intent to poyson our gracious Sovereign (whose life God long preserve) testifieth thus much; and as many as shall hear of his purpose

purpose of Dr. *Lopes* and his Complices, cannot but esteeme him worthy of everlasting Ignominy.

But now to declare unto you that this League cannot be of any long continuance, I will use these few demonstrations.

First, as many as have read either Ancient or Modern Histories, shall easilie perceive by them, that Fortune, or rather the Eternal, never gave unto Rebels any long Continuance of their prosperitie.

Next, the Common People which easilie forsake the heads and chief of their Rebellion, depart from them so soon as they perceive that their strength decayeth; then feare, jealousy, suspition, distrust, and diffidence alwaies attend upon Rebels to dismay, daunt and terrifie them.

And lastly, these great and Archtraytors are beset with so many difficulties that it is impossible for them to attain unto their purpose. For if there be many that are equall in Authoritie, credit and reputation, the one alwaies distrusteth the other; And if there be but one upon whom the rest do depend, he must of necessitie please him that cometh nighest unto him in Authoritie, least that he make the way hard and difficult for him to worke his desire and pleasure. He must content the common People, satisfie the Gentlemen, and accommodate himself to the Nature, Covetousnes and Avarice of the common Soldiers, matters of great difficulty, hardness and impossibilitie, because the desires of the Nobilitie, People and Soldiers are most commonly contrary, and tend to diverse purposes, the first seeking for advancement, the second for Peace, and Tranquillitie, and the third Coveting nothing more then the continuance of War. Moreover whereas the wisest amongst them begin to consider that they have violated the Lawes, offended their Kings Majestie, born Armes against their Prince and Country, against their neer kinsmen and their own families, and that instead of one King (which perhaps fleeced them) they are now subje& unto many Princes who fleece them more, instead of ordinary charges, they are now charged with new expences and unsupportable Subsidies, instead of Clemency, Justice, and Mercie, they are now exposed unto Injustice, Crueltie and Briberie; they lose by little and little their Indignation and Fury, and seek by all meanes possible to recenter, into the good grace and favor of their Leige Lord and Sovereign. The chiefe conspirators therefore fearing to be forsaken and abandoned by their companions and fellowes in Armes, in the end are constrained to submit themselves unto their Princes discretion.

And the common People which at their instigation was too prone and readie to rebell against their Sovereign, do sometimes after due consideration of the indignitie of their unnaturall disobedience, become so desirous to recover the Kings favor and good likeing, that to the end the way to attain thereunto may be made the more easie, they kill the first Authors of their Rebellion, or els deliver them into the hands of their Prince; And if ever Rebe'ls have been left and forsaken by their partakers, these Traytors of *France* may justly stand in great feare thereof, because the nature of Frenchmen is such, that if a man do not take present advantage of their unnatural heat and fury, but suffer the same to wax cold and to relent, it is very difficult and almost impossible to revive the same with the best art or counsell that may be used.

*Da Hai-
lan.*

If therefore they shall begin to want money, of which they cannot chuse but stand in great need quickly, because they are poor, and cannot at all times and on all occasions have present supplies from their Allies, or if the *Parisians* (whose custom it hath been always to be quickly discontented, and easily to repent themselves of their Folly) depart suddenly from their League and Amicitie; if the King of Spain who shall have so much to do on every side, that he shall hardly be able to defend his own Countries, do not continually send them fresh relief of men and money.

If the King of *France* chance to be Superior to his Adversaries in number of Soldiers and of all things necessary for the maintenance of his Wars; lastly if the Princes of the blood shall begin joyntly to put their helping hands to the suppressing of those Rebels, I cannot see how they can possibly hold out long. And although fortune should show herself so favourable unto these Traytors, as that they might, in process of time, effect and accomplish their desires; yet considering that the murderers of Princes are most commonly murdered, that those who have ascended unto the royall dignity of Kings by Treason or Rebellion, are thrown down againe the same way which served them for a Ladder to mount and clime up thereunto; that when the Usurper shall divide the prey and spoile betwixt them that have aided and assisted him, they fall presently unto contentious brawlings and quarrels; and briefly, that of such Controversies oftentimes followeth the ruin and destruction of him that held himself well assured of his new gotten kingdom; It is much more to be doubted, then to be hoped, that whosoever shall be declared King amongst them, cannot continue long in his place which is purchased by force and violence, and must needs not only be subject unto the inconstancy and varietie of fortune, but also unto the diversitie of humors of men that are inconstant, light, and very ready to change and alter their opinions. I could alleage infinite examples to prove all that I have said, but I forbear for brevities sake, to trouble you with a superfluous and needless enumeration of such examples, and let you understand that these Rebels had long since been suppressed and overthrown, had not the late King committed divers oversights after his resolute murder of the Duke of *Guise*.

For had he not killed the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Clergie had not been so highly offended with him, had he not presently called the now King to help and succour him, made him his Generall, and declared him his immediate Successor, he had not so much displeased the contrary Faction as he did, and yet he received no great benefit by his coming unto him; for he brought not above two thousand men with him, and the Nobility which within a few daies after came unto him with their people were about thirty thousand; againe the delay and surcease of Arms for fifteen daies together, after the victory had against the Count of *Egmont*, gave time and space unto the *Parisians* to make sufficient provision of all such things as they wanted. Secondly the King hindered himself greatly by staying to recreate and solace himself a while at *Corbeil*, making a sure reckoning that he had gotten a final and happie end of his wars, because he had won that Town, which is as it were the Key of all Victuals that pass by that River to *Paris*: Thirdly, had he been so provident in executing all other Peers and Noblemen of the Duke of *Guise* his mind with the same Duke, as they were which committed the Massacre of *Paris*, he had quickly been ridd of his Enemies. Fourthly, had he presently after the

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A French
discourse
written
by an un-
known
Author.

same murder shewed himself in the field with those Companies that came unto him, and had he not done all things by halfe as he did, he had undoubtedly dismayed and terrified all the Towns adhering unto the Leaguers, which were greatly discomfited and amazed with the sudden accident of the Duke of *Guise* his death; but after that he saw his Enemy dead, he thought that he had no more Enemies in the World; this confidence made him so careless, that he suffered *Orleanse* to be lost, which might have been saved by shewing himself only within convenient time in the Field, and he gave the Duke of *Maine* leave to returne and fortifie himself, and made small account to do any of those things which within a month after hee would gladly have done. The Leaguers likewise committed their oversights, of which if the King had taken advantage, he might easily have subdued them.

For after that the Duke of *Guise* had driven the King from *Paris*, many prognosticated, that either the Duke would destroy the King, or that the King would murder the Duke; For there was no hope and less likelihood, that so foule an Indignitie offered unto a King both of great might and notable valor, would bee put up at the Dukes hands without a revenge; And after that day all that the Duke did, was begun without providence, continued without justice, and in end, had a bad end; For when he had mounted almost up to the top of his desires, by force and violence; he thinking that the Nobilitie of *France* would be highly displeased with his audacious Insolency, and insolent Attempt, seeketh meanes to pacifie the King, and to reenter into his good grace and favor.

This poor Prince blinded with ambition, and besotted with the love of a kingdom, thought that a Prince being so injuriously dealt with all as the King was, would by the goodness of his nature be reconciled, and he believed that he might easily find the meanes to perswade the King to resign his Crown, or to induce the People to enforce him thereunto: But the King was fully resolved to have his revenge; hee assembled therefore the Estates of *France* thinking to find sufficient credit and authority in that Assembly to bring the Duke to his death by Sentence and Judgment; And the Duke on the contrary side supposed, that in that Assembly he should find friends enough to deprive the King of his Scepter; But the King failed of his purpose, and the Duke missed his mark, and yet the King within a small while after effected his desire; but committed other errors besides the above mentioned, of which the Leaguers took present hold and advantage; they thought that the Kings negligence and the hatred of the People conceived against him for the Dukes death, gave them fit opportunity to deprive him of the Crown; But withall they considered not how unworthy the best of them was to wear the same; and how unable to keep it when it was upon his head. Again, when they saw that the Dukes death had rather fortified then weakened their partie, they supposed that all was gotten, that nothing remained to be conquered, that they needed to take no more paines, but to give themselves unto delights, and to make partition amongst themselves of the kingdoms and when they came to deliberate who should be their King, they could not agree amongst themselves upon any certain person; whereas if they had presently resolved to make the Duke *De Mayne*, it might easily have been effected; but the competitors were many, and there began a debate and emulation betwixt the Duke and the Marquis *Du Pont*; his cosen the Duke of *Anmale* would not give

give his head for the washing, and the Dutcheffes of *Montpensieur* and of *Nemurs* put in for their best friends, the later for her Son of *Nemurs*, which began to win credit amongst the people, and the first for her brother who began to lose his reputation; and the Duke *De Mayne* foolishly gave over the name and hope of being a King, and accepted the Title of Lieutenant of the Crown; besides, whilst this contention was rife amongst the Nobles, and whilst they busied themselves in framing a Proceſs against the late King, which Proceſs endured some eight or nine Monthes, the people perceiving how pleasant a thing it was to be subject unto no man, and the chief cities being glad that they had cast off the yoke of a Monarchie, would not endure any speaking of a new King, but to free and emancipate themselves as well from the Authoritie of a Prince, as of an high Court of Parliament; by the imitation of *Paris*, they established in every City a Council of certain persons of mean and base qualitie, into whose hands they put all kind of Authority, and they presumed to limit the Duke of *Maynes* Authoritie, and to set certain controulers over them.

This breedeth a dislike betwixt the Nobilitie and the People; and especially the Officers of the Crown, as the Officers of the Privie Seale, of the Parliament, of the Exchequers, the Judges, the Treasurers, and all the Servitures of the Monarchie were highly displeased therewith, and would not give place to, nor go after the Magistrates that were created by the People. Lastly the King of Spain, their chief Patron and upholder, dealeth but faintly with them, and is not so readie to help them as they supposed he would be. So they are enforced to threaten him that they would yeild to the King before they could obtain such help as they expected from him. For although he sent the Duke of *Parma* and others to relieve them in their Necessities, yet he standeth in doubt, that if he should send any great supplies, and God should bless them with any extraordinary Fortune, that the Duke of *Mayne* should be chosen King, he seeth that they were too strong to yeild unto his motions; hee perceiveth that he must keep them low and in continual need of his help; and therefore when he hath once succoured them, he withdraweth his forces and leaveth them sometimes in such distress that the Duke of *Mayne* is constrained to forget that he is Lieutenant General of the Crown of *France*, and to his great shame and dishonor is driven to go seek for Aid of the Duke of *Parma*, which carried the Title but of a Lieutenant unto his Master in one Province. And truly it is reported that the King of *Spain* took not the loss of his men at the battaile of *Jury*, where he received a great overthrow, so grievously, but that he was right glad to see his partakers reduced to so great an extremitie, as that they were enforced to present him a Blank, and to offer to subscribe to any thing that he should demand. These faint proceedings of the King, of *Spain*, these apparent contentions betwixt the Leaguers themselves; and this general discontentment of the common people might have shortened the Warrs in *France*, if the now King had been of sufficient power to take and make his advantage of them: But I shall have occasion to shew why this advantage was omitted and not taken, in another place; And therefore to proceed according to my purpose, If you consider that the *Etolians* and *Arcadians* warred a long time together for a wild Boare; that the *Carthaginians* held long Warrs with the People of *Piraca* for a Sea-Rovers ship; that there were mortall Warrs betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts* for a few Doggs which the one Nation

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had taken from the other, And that the wars betwixt *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Switzers* began but for a cart loaden with sheep skins which *Mr. de Romont* took from a *Switzer* who passed therewith through his ground: you shall easily perceive and see how ready Princes are to take very light occasions to war one against another; And this ready desire accompanieth most commonly those Princes who have valiant hearts, good occasions, and ready means to be revenged on their Enemies. It is therefore to be thought that the now king of *France*, who is endowed with all the perfections and vertues which the Almighty of his bounteous liberality useth to bestow upon Princes, will not suffer the king of *Spain* to offer him such wrong as he doth without revenging the same. He is valiant and wise, and undoubtedly he will follow the Life and Actions of his Predecessors; of which *Pipin* made wars with the *Venetians*, because they favoured the party of *Nicephorus* Emperor of *Greece* against *Charles* the great his Father; *Philip* surnamed The Fair warred against *Adolph* the Emperor, because he had taken money of the king of *England* to make wars against *France*; *Philip Augustus* denounced wars against *France* unto *John* king of *England*, because he killed his Nephew *Arthur*: And *Clovis*, the first of that name, warred with *Alurick* king of the *Visgots*, because he harboured and received the Exiles of *France*, and had suborned certain men to come and kill the French king within his own Realm: And hath not the king of *Spain* deserved much more then all these the hatred and hostility of the present king of *France*? since he sendeth aid not to the Enemies, but to the Subjects of the king of *France*; since he hath not taken but given money to others to make wars against him; since he hath not killed his Nephew, but his own Son; since he not onely receiveth the Exiles of *France*, but counselleth the good Subjects thereof to become bad, and the most obedient to rebel against their king, and hirerh not strangers, but his own natural Subjects to come and murder the French king in his own Palace.

Objection

But it may be said that the Spanish king hath taken a good course to keep the Frenchmen out of his kingdom, by sending his Forces into theirs, and by nourishing and continuing the Civil Wars in *France*.

Answer.

To this I answer, That the Leaguers begin now to lose their credit, that their Forces and Strength declineth, that their Towns and Partners leave them; and that if they will not vouchsafe to imitate *M. Coriolanus*, they must expect the success and fortune that fell unto the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* in *England*; *M. Coriolanus* taking in evil part that the Romans had rejected a very reasonable demand which he made unto them, joyned with their Enemies, and obtained for them many battels and victories against his own Country; but being intreated by his Wife and his Mother, he returned into his Country, and recovered whatsoever he or his Enemies had taken from *Rome*.

Holinshed
Pol. Vir-
gil.

By whose Example, if the Guisards, being now so weakened as they are, will not learn to submit themselves unto their Princes mercy, they must fear and be afraid, when they hear that the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, after that they had deprived one king of his Royal Seat and Scepter, and placed another in the same, were both cruelly murdered in the Field, although there was a time whenas the one could have obtained whatsoever he would of the common People, and the other by reason of his Offices had all the chief Forces and strength of *England* as well by Land as by Sea, at his disposition and commandment. Now if these two Earls had no better end but

but to be slain in the Field, although they were the mightiest and best beloved Rebels that ever were in the world: What assurance can the Guisards of *France* have of their good fortune? What hope in the multitude of their partners, and their fellows in Arms? What confidence in the favour of fortune, which never was, nor never will be constant in any other thing but inconstancy? Their glory therefore cannot continue long, their Alliance shall not greatly avail the Spanish king, and the remembrance and memory of this their Rebellion will alwayes remain fresh, as well in the hearts of our after-comers, as in the mindes of our selves and our children, because men are more prone and ready to remember the wrongs that others do unto them, then the benefits they receive from others. How can the Frenchmen then forget the subtilty and cunning which the Spaniards used in taking from them the kingdom of *Naples*? the rigour and cruelty that was shewed unto *Francis* the first to make him resign the Sovereignty of *Flanders*? the injury and injustice used by *Ferdinando* king of *Castile*, when he usurped and took into his hands the moyetie of the kingdom of *Navarr*? and the unlawfull violence of the Spanish kings father practised in the usurpation of the Dukedom of *Milan*? And remembring all this, can they want good occasion to exercise all kinde of Hostility against the Spaniards, as soon as it shall please God to send an end of these Civil Wars? The occasions are great: And if you remember what hath been said of the Strength of *France*, you will think that the means which the French king may have to be revenged of these wrongs, are far greater; and so in this respect the Spanish king hath shewed his indiscretion in entering into League with the Guisards; Of whose Friendship I pray you let us now consider what hold and good assurance he may have. There are divers kindes of assurances to be taken together; some content themselves with the faithfull promise of their Allies; others require Hostages; many demand to have some Holds and Towns of strength in their custody: and there be such as never think themselves safe or well assured, unless they unarm their confederates; But the strongest and best bond is, in the opinion of the wisest, a firm conjunction and binding of the Allies together by the way of Wedlock. Now of all these sorts of Alliances, which hath the king of *Spain* taken? Or which of them can he take without shewing himself very indiscreet? May he content himself with the faithfull promise of his Allies? Will they hold their promise unto him who have violated their faith unto their Liege Lord and Sovereign? Hath he taken Hostages of them? Will they be carefull of other mens lives, who have so small care of their own? Will they give him any strong holds? With what reason can he detain them, since both they that give them have no authority or sufficient power to deliver them up into his hands, and he is not strong enough to keep and defend them when he hath them? Will he unarm them? Take their weapons from them, and what good can they do him? Will he make them assured to be at his devotion by a fast bond and linck of marriage? What honour, or rather shame shall it be for him to mingle his Blood, his Honour, and his House with the Infamy, Dishonour, and Ignominy of Rebels and Traytors? But of Traytors some one of them will become a king: O poor and unadvised Prince, who shall spend his money to honour him who deserveth no honour, and of whose faithfull friendship he can have no fast assurance. But how shall he become a King? By the Forces of *Spain*? O simple and indiscreet King, who thinketh to purchase a great and invincible Kingdom from a Stranger, when he is not

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able to recover a poor Country taken from him by his own Subjects. But by what means, and by what colour shall he become a King? By the Example and imitation of *Hugh Capet*, who (as you have heard) was made King by shewing unto the Pope and the People of *France*, that in choosing a King, the man that is present ought to be preferred before him that is absent; he that governeth in Person, before him that ruleth by a Deputy; he that is both carefull and vertuous, before him that is careless and vicious. But what manner of imitation is this, unless you call it an imitation when as a man doth all things quite contrary to his Actions whom he proposeth to himself to follow and imitate? For he that was deposed by *Hugh Capet* governed by his Lieutenant, and the present King of *France* ruleth by his own person; he was hated by reason of his great negligence, and this King was beloved for his great pains and diligence: He was insufficient to Govern, and this King hath given many Experiments of his great wit and sufficiency; And to be short, This *Hugh Capet*, who is proposed as a man worthy to be imitated by the Arch-Traitor that would make himself king of *France*, used as his most principle reason this Argument to shew that *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, and Uncle unto *Lewis* the fifth, deserved not to be chosen king, because that in all controversies that fell out in his time betwixt the Empire and the Kingdom of *France*, the said *Charles* shewed himself more affectionate and friendly unto the Emperor then unto the French King. How blinde then are those Guisards, who cannot see that when they shall desire the people to make choice of one amongst them to be their King, the greater part will hardly yeeld to their motion? they will cry out that their King is yet alive, that it is not reason to take the crown from his head, and to put it upon a Strangers, or upon one of his inferiour Vassals; that many can witness, that in all contentions betwixt *France* and *Spain*, they have alwayes shewed themselves more favourable unto *Spain*, then unto their own Country; And lastly, that the Duke of *Lorraine* because he was a Prince of the Empire, had more Reason to favour the Emperor then the Guisards have to befriend the Spanish king, whom they should hate and abhorre, because he loveth not their Country. You have seen the Spanish kings indiscretion in contracting this League: Now give me leave to shew you the Leagues great folly in subscribing thereunto. The Causes which moved them to enter into this League, were (as you understand already) very many: But it appears not how true, or rather how false their pretensions are: This must be discovered, and then their folly cannot be concealed.

They lay to their late kings charge, that he was an Heretick, a Parricide, a wicked and impious despiser of God, a Tyrant, an Hypocrite, a perjured Prince, and a man given over to all kinde of vice and wickedness.

They charge him further, that he wasted the Revenues of the Crown, and that he committed many other follies long since mentioned. To all these, that their malice, falsehood and folly may appear, I will answer briefly; A full denial of all that they say might serve for mine answer, were it not that I seek by reason and truth to confound them that have neither reason nor truth. I must therefore run thorow the kings life, and to purge him of the crime of Heresie, I think it convenient to declare what he did both before and after he was king, against those whom the Leaguers term Hereticks.

Now to omit other matters, testifying his great zeal and affection unto the Roman Catholicks before he was king of *France*, I will prove the same by

A Book
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in Latine
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by the
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Lyons.

The
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by four principal Arguments. First, it is apparent unto the world, that he was one of the chief Authors of the Massacre of *Paris*, which was general through *France*, and practised with a great hope utterly to extirpe all the Protestants in *France*: Next, it is certain that no Prince living could shew greater hatred, stomach, or courage against men of a contrary Religion unto himself, then he did at the siege of *Rochel*, before which he lay, until he was fetcht thence into *Poland*. Thirdly, it is notorious unto as many as know any thing of his Election unto the Kingdom of *Poland*, that there was nothing that more estranged the Affections of the Electors from him, then his great hatred shewed against the Protestants, both in the time of the massacre, and also at the siege of *Rochel*; Insoimuch that Mr. of *Valence*, who was his Ambassador unto the Electors, was fain to publish a Book, wherein he more cunningly then truly derived the fault and crime of that Massacre from him unto the Duke of *Guise*, who took the same in so evil part, that after the king was established in *Poland*, the said Duke published an other book wherein he cleared himself, and layed the chief blame upon the late French king. Lastly, whenas he had ruled a while in *Poland* and saw the diversities of Religions there, he loathed the Country, detested their opinions, and could hardly be brought to take the Oath which bound him to permit and tolerate a plurality of Religions in that kingdom.

But it may be thought, that as many Princes have shewed themselves honest, vertuous and religious before they were kings, to the end they might the better attain unto a kingdom; so he being assured by his Mother and by a vain prophesie, that she should live to see all her sons kings, and knowing that he should hardly come to the kingdom unless he gave some manifest signes of his zeal in Religion, during the time that he lived as a Subject under his Brother, repressed his nature, dissembled his manners and disguised his Religion, that Heresie might not be a bar unto him for the kingdom. Objection.

In the refuting of this Objection, I shall have occasion to confound many of his Actions together, which will serve to confute some other crimes layed to his charge. When his brother *Charles* the ninth died, he was in *Poland*, where hearing the news of his death, he took such a course for his departure from thence, as highly commendeth his wisdom, and manifestly declareth his great and natural love and affection unto his native Country, with which course it shall be very requisite and expedient to acquaint you thoroughly, because his Adversaries draw from hence their principal Arguments to prove his Infidelity, and the beginning of his evil Government; for where as he was (say they) bound by faithfull promise and oath to continue in *Poland*, and to have an especial care of the Wealth and welfare of that Country, he left and abandoned them when they had most need of him, as may appear by the Letter that was sent unto him after his departure, by the principle Peers, Nobles and Senators of that Realm. It is not unknown unto any that know the State of *France*, and are conversant in the writers of the later Accidents thereof, that he was very unwilling to go into *Poland*, because that he saw that his brother was not likely to live long, and that he dying, in his absence the kingdom, which was alwayes to be preferred before the Crown of *Poland*, might be wrongfully transferred unto his Brother, or unto some other whom his Brothers young years, or his absence might encourage to affect the same. This consideration moved him not to give his consent unto that journey, before that his Mother faithfully promised to revoke him, with all possible diligence, Answer.
if

if his Brother should chance to die. And some write, that at his departure, his mother, whether it were to make him the more willing to goe, or that she was resolved to take such order that Charles the ninth should not live long, said unto him; Take not this departure (my son) grievously, for it shall not be long before thou shalt returne: Let it be spoken either to comfort and encourage him; or with her foreknowledge and prejudicate opinion; he was scant settled in *Poland* when a Messenger came unto him, to signifie his brothers death; This Message being delivered, he wisely and providently called together the Nobilitie of *Poland*, imparted unto them his Brothers death, required their Counsel in a case of such difficulty as greatly perplexed his Wits, and not lightly troubled the wisest amongst them.

The first thing that was decreed, was, that the Nobles should mourne for him, in the same manner, and with the same solemnities that they usually observe in mourning for their own Kings, whereby they signified their great love which they bore him.

The next matter that was resolved, was to dispatch a present Messenger into *France*, with Letters of Credit unto the Queen his mother, requiring her for him to take upon her the Regency of *France*, untill his returne.

And the third Conclusion of their consultation was, to call a general Assembly of the States, and therein to deliberate and consult what might be best for the King to do, whether to returne into *France*, or to continue and remaine in *Poland*.

In this interim, he calling to minde the turbulent Estate of *France*, the young years of his Brother, and the Ambitious and aspiring minds of divers of the French Nobility: And likewise understanding, that the Peers of *Poland* fearing his suddain departure, were about to take some order for preventing the same, determined with himself to depart thence before his going should be known, aswell because he would not have the same hindred and crossed by the Nobilitie; as for that he knew it would be very dangerous for him to pass homeward through the Countries of divers Princes that bore him no great good will, if he should depart thence as that they might have any foreknowledge and intelligence of the time of his departure, and of the way which he went in returning into *France*.

This resolution thus taken, he writeth a letter with his owne hands unto those in whome he reposed greatest confidence, and signified unto them, that since the time of their last conference, he had received such Intelligence out of *France*, as gave him just occasion to hasten thither in Poste, and not to attend the general Assembly of the States of *Poland*; he promiseth to returne so soon as he could conveniently; prayeth them to excuse his suddain departure unto the rest of the Nobilitie; And for such matters as his leisure would not permit him to commit unto his Letter, he desireth them to give credit unto a faithfull Counsellor of his, whom he left behinde him with further instructions for them: The Nobilitie understanding by his owne Letter, and these mens reports (marke the love they bore him, and the care which they have of him) sent presently a Nobleman in Poste after him, to beseech him to returne; and wrote their Letter unto the Emperor to certifie his Majestie, that his hastie returne into *France* proceeded not of any offence given unto the King by them, nor of any evil opinion conceived by the King against them, but of some urgent occasion requiring his presence in *France*: They rested not here; but when they saw that he returned not in such time as they looked for him, they wrote a large Letter unto him,

him wherein they declared how lovingly they consented to chooſe him before a number of other Princes that were competitors with him; how honorably they ſent for him into *France*, how royally they received him; how dutifully they carried themſelves towards him; how carefully they provided for the ſafety of both his kingdoms, as well of that which came unto him by diſcent, as of that which he received from their Election; how greatly he was honoured by their choice, and how dangerously he had forſaken them: they prayed his returne if it might ſtand with his good liking, if it might be to his benefit; if not, they humbly beſought him to conſider in what danger they ſtood of Forreine Enemies, what troubles hung over their heads by reaſon of the hatred and quarrels that were betwixt them and the Princes of *Walachia*, *Scythia*, and *Muſcovia*, and how needfull and neceſſary it was for them not to be long without a King, whoſe preſence might comfort them, whoſe counſel might adviſe them, whoſe experience might direct them, whoſe Authoritie might govern them, and whoſe Credit might countenance them. They forgot not the Inconveniencies that had hapned unto them ſince his departure, nor the difficulty and impoſſibility to provide for their redreſs, and their owne ſafetie without his preſence; for that it is an inviolable Law in *Poland*, that although the States of the Country have decreed Wars againſt an Enemy, yet it can neither be denounced nor proſecuted without the conſent and ſuffrage of their King.

Theſe neceſſities being thus expreſſed, they ſet him down a peremptory day within which to returne, with a plaine intimation, that if he ſhall not returne by that day, they will proceed unto the Election of another King; beſeeching him not to thinke that they will chooſe another for that they are weary of him, or deſirous to forſake him; there is no ſuch conceit lodged in their hearts, no ſuch Cogitation entered into their heads; but they and he muſt conſider that *Poland* is ſo ſituated, that barbarous Enemies do environ it on every ſide, and that it is the ſtay of all *Chriſtendom*, and that therefore it behooveth them to be carefull when others are negligent, and to watch that others might keep in quiet without danger. And laſtly, that theſe premiſes well and duly conſidered, ſuch a kingdome cannot be long without an Head, without a Captaine, without a King.

He receiveth theſe Letters, and they receiving no ſuch Answer from him as might aſſure them of his returne unto them by the day appointed, proceeded to a new Election: And hence his Enemies derive their beſt Arguments to condemne him of Infidelitie, and Heretic; Of Infidelitie, in that he returned not according to his promiſe; and of Heretic, in that living there amongſt a number of ſundry Sects, and Sectaries, he learned to bear with Heretiques.

I finde in the Hiſtories of *Poland*, that when the States had agreed upon his Election, the Ambaſſadors which he had ſent into *Poland* about thoſe Affairs, were ſworne in the name and behalfe of their Maſter, by the Arch-biſhop of *Cracovia*, to maintaine, uphold, conſerve, and increaſe the Ancient Laws, Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of the kingdome of *Poland*, and of the great Dukedome of *Litwania*. The which Oath being thus taken, the Palatine of *Cracovia*, being high Maſſhall of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the great Captaine of *Samogitia*, being Maſſhal of the great Dukedome of *Litwania*, preſently proclaime him King of *Poland*, and Duke of *Litwania*: Here is no promiſe to abide with them for ever; Here is no Oath not to returne againe into *France*; Here is no Bond to tie him to

continuall Residence: And though he promised to return at his departure, yet you shall understand, that although he could ~~a~~ would have return'd, yet hee had small occasion to return unto them: For first the kingdom of *France* is farr better then that of *Poland*; Next few Princes have ever left their native Countries unto the Government and administration of a Lieutenant, to rule themselves in a Foreign Dominion: Then hee found his own kingdom at his return, in such broyles and contentions, that hee could not possibly appease them to return into *Poland* at his day prefixed: And lastly, they not admitting his lawfull excuses, chose another king before hee refused to come back unto them.

This last cause is sufficient to excuse his not returning into that kingdom: And this is so true, that when I was in *Italy*, I remember that it was a fresh newes that the *Polacks* had sent an Ambassador unto the *Pope* to excuse their suddain choise of their new King, and to do such ceremonies unto the *Pope* as in such cases is required. This Ambassador pass'd by *Padua*, where I saw him, and hee staid there so long, that he spent all the money that was allowed for his Journey to *Rome* and home again, before he went thence. The cause of his long stay, was the Protestation that was made by the *French* Ambassador residing then at *Rome*, and requiring the *Pope* not to accept of the said Ambassador, as an Ambassador sent unto him by the lawfull King of *Poland*, because the *French* King his Master had not resigned his Right and Title unto that Crown: And the validity of this exception was so long in debating, that intimation being given to the *Poland* Ambassador not to proceed any further on his Journey towards *Rome*, untill the same question was fully decided, he was enforced to continue so long as I have said in *Padua*, to the great hinderance of himself, and of all his company. Besides, as our Kings still carry the Title of Kings of *France*, in remembrance of their Right unto that kingdom; so the late King of *France* caus'd himself to be called King of *Poland* untill his dying day, in token that he never had resigned his Interest and claime thereunto.

This Argument brought against his fidelitie is sufficiently refell'd. It resteth to refute the exception made against his carriage and Government in *Poland*. This shall need no great Confutation, because it appeareth by the aforementioned letters of the Senators unto him, and the Emperor after his departure, that there was no dislike conceived against him; and the earnest entreaty which was made unto him to return, testifieth the good opinion, hope, and confidence which they had to be well and wisely ruled by him.

Now whereas it is said, that he learned to bee favourable unto Hereticks in *Poland*: It may be that he convers'd with some of them whilst hee was there, because he could not otherwise do (their generall Assemblies and meetings requiring his presence, and consisting of such Peeres and Nobles as were of diverse Religions) But it appeareth by his letters written unto his especiall Friends of that kingdom when he departed thence, that he had no great confidence or trust in them that were contrary unto him in Religion. For, besides the letter that he wrote to the Generall States of all the Country, he wrote unto certain choice men, as unto the Bishop of *Cinacisa*, unto the *Palatine* of *Cracovia*, unto the Marshall of *Eboronius*, unto the Vice-Chancellor *Woskins*, unto the *Castellan* of *Meymcimer* his Vice-Chamberlain, and unto the Marshall of the Court of *Litwania*, all
which

which were very zealous and earnest *Catholicks*, and the onely men of whom he made any reckoning, during his short abode in *Poland*.

Thus I have freed him from suspicion either of Heresie, or of any favor shewed unto Hereticks whilst he was abroad: Now let me examine his life at home, and see whether untill his dying day he might be justly taxed or touched with the crime of Heresie.

He came to *Lyons* about the 9 of *September*, in the year 1574 where the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *Alencon*, his Brother, the King of *Navarre*, *Charles* Cardinal of *Guise*, and others met with him: The 10 of *September*, (a short space of recreation and solace after so long a Journey) he falleth to consult with all those before named, what meanes were best to be used to renew Wars against those whom they termed *Hugonets*; he besiegeth *Pasania* upon the *Roane*, and taketh the same the 5 of *October*, assaulteth *Moubrim*, laith seige to *Lioron*, and never left in the dead of Winter to Warr against the Protestants, untill he took a little Truce during the solemnitie of his Coronation: Not long after his Coronation, there came Ambassadors unto him from the *Swissers* to intreat libertie of Conscience for the Protestants of *France*; They are heard with small favor, and their Petition rejected with so great indignation, that the Queen Mother was faine to pacifie her son in his great rage and fury: The Protestants require ayde out of *Germany*: Duke *Casimir* cometh into *France*: The Prince of *Conde* groweth strong; the king of *Navarre* flieth from the *French* Court unto him: the *Catholicks* want money, the *Pope* sendeth them 400000 *Florins*. The Duke of *Guise* is sent to meet with *Casimir*, either to repell him with force, or to deceive him with policy; and because they feared the king of *Navarre*, diverse waies and meanes are practised to make him suspected unto the Prince of *Conde*; immediatly after the Duke of *Guise*, followeth Mounseieur the kings Brother with greater troups; but both he and the Duke finding themselves not able to encounter with the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Casimir*, Mounseieur receiveth the Duke with great Friendship in *Burgony* and talketh very familiarly with him.

To be short, the king and Queen, and *Casimir* meete; a Peace is concluded; all offences are forgiven, and liberty of conscience is granted to be used in all places saving *Paris*. The Duke *Casimir* departeth; and hee is no sooner gone, but the *Catholicks* cry out against this peace; the Citizens of *Paris* tread the Articles thereof under their feet. A generall Assembly is called at *Bloys*. The king of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marshal *Damule* come not to this Assembly. The Articles of the beforenamed Peace are abrogated, and a full resolution is taken to subvert the Protestants, or to enforce them to receive the Counsell of *Trent*. The Decrees of this Assembly are sent to the Prince of *Conde*, and they are required to subscribe unto them; which they refuse to do. The king is discontented, and sweareth not to leave untill he hath utterly overthrowen the Protestants. Hee writeth unto Duke *Casimir*, and unto the *Lansgrave* of *Hesse*, requiring them not to give any more succour unto the Prince of *Conde*. The one answereth the king gently, and prayeth him to keep the late concluded Peace; and the other threateneth that if the same be not observed, to return into *France* with far greater strength then he brought thither the year before. New troubles begin, but are quickly ended by reason of Mounseieurs going into *Flanders*, and taking upon him the defence and Patronage of that Country.

Declara-
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This is the kings behaviour and carriage before the holy League, the which beginneth in the year, 1585.

Of this League three especial causes are pretended; The Troubles of *France*, the kings sterility, and the right of succession, which belongeth unto the king of *Navarr*. By the confederates in this League these things are required; That the Catholick Religion, and the Nobility that professed the same, may be restored unto their ancient dignity; That a Parliament might be called, that Tributes may be gathered for the king and the kingdom; that extraordinary exactions may be mitigated; that every third year a Parliament may be held. And lastly, that an Army of 16000. footmen, and 3000 horse may be gathered and maintained with the kings treasure against the Hugonets, and the same Army to be lead by the kings own person, or by the Duke of *Guise*, as his Lieutenant General. They set forth an Apology containing their Grievs and these Petitions, and end the same with a promise to lay down their weapons, if the king will be content to subscribe to these Articles, and to overthrow the Protestants.

The king of *Navarr* finding himself to be the mark whereat these Leaguers shot, published his Apology, proveth himself to be no Heretick, Apostate, Persecutor, or Rebel; sheweth that the Duke of *Guise* is the onely Perturber of the peace and quiet of *France*, and that he cannot feel the wound thereof because he is a stranger; and lastly, for the ending of all troubles without more effusion of blood, challengeth the combat.

The late King published likewise his Answer to every Article, and promised that all these things shall be done answerable to Gods Word and the precript rule of Justice; praying the Leaguers, that since both he and the Queen are yet young enough to have children, and that children are the Gift of God, they will not rashly think him to be without all hope of children.

Here I might trouble you with the rehearſal of many examples of many Rebels like unto these, who when their demands have been so reasonably answered as these were, desisted from wars, or had but an evil issue. But I must restrain my self, and labour to be short, otherwise I shall be both too long and tedious. What could a king, nay the most absolute king of the world, the mightiest king of *Europe*, do more then this king did? Or what would they require more at this kings hands then he performed? He entered not into this League; would not be one of their confederates; *Hinc nostri fundi Calamitas*; But he seemeth to allow the proscription and disinheritance of *Navarr*; he banisheth all Protestants out of the Realm; he answereth the king of *Denmark*, who becometh a sutor for them, that he neither can nor will have Peace with them; he writeth to the Prince of *Germany*, who likewise intreated his favour for the Protestants, That he knoweth well enough what to do without their counsel, and marvelleth that they have so great leisure as to meddle with other mens matters, and especially with such things wherewith they have nothing to do.

This is not enough; He provideth an Army against the Protestants, he sendeth to encounter with the Forces of *Germany* that were coming into *France* to succour them; The Duke of *Guise* overthroweth them; and the kings Brother-in-Law, the Duke of *Foyessa* is overthrown by the king of *Navarr*, with the loss of his own life, and of 12000. of his Souldiers. The Duke of *Guise* made proud and insolent with this victory, and having got-

ten above 120000 Crowns by the spoiles of the Enemies, returneth to *Paris*, boasteth of his conquest, preferreth himself before his idle & loytering king; (as he termeth him) discovereth his secret intentions more openly then he did before, and seeketh how he either might make away the king, or thrust him to a Monastery. And when he heard that his secret practices were revealed unto the king by the Duke of *Espernon*, he is sore troubled, and laboureth to free himself from all manner of suspicion; What way taketh he to bring this to pass? Submitteth he himself unto the king? Cleareth he himself of the Accusations laid to his charge? Craveth he pardon of his insolency? He doth; But how? Forsooth, in such manner, that even a man with one eye might easily see that he dissembleth. He cometh to *Paris* with a small Troop, but so disposeth his Army that his intention to carry away the king by force could not be hidden. He craveth conference with the king, is admitted to his presence; They spend three whole dayes together in conference; he so playeth his part, that the king leaveth to suspect him, removeth the Duke of *Espernon* from the Court and his company, who had revealed his secrets, and is angry with the said Duke for accusing him wrongfully. What followeth? God who knoweth the inward thoughts of all men, and hath an especial care of Princes safety, by a sudden and unexpected accident, layeth open his dissimulation, and bewrayeth the Dukes Treachery.

The king seeing that armed men came into *Paris* in great Troopes by night and day, setteth his Switzers to watch and ward in every street of *Paris*. It fortuned that a Switzer by chance was stricken by a Parisian, with whom he had some private quarrel; hereof followeth a great slaughter. The Duke of *Guise* committeth the Switzers to prison, besetteth the *Lover* with a Garison of Souldiers: The king beginneth to be afraid, he fleeth from *Paris* secretly, taketh his mother thence with him, commende h the Duke of *Espernon* his Faith and Loyalty, and escapeth the danger of the Lion that lay in wait for his life, for that time, but is to die the death within a short time after, not by the sharp and merciless sword of the proud and ambitious Duke (which had been more Princelike) but by a short and poysoned knife of a Jacobin Fryer, which was too base a death for the greatest Monarch of the World.

But again to the Duke; who hearing that the king began to sound the depth of his Treasons, and to suspect all his proceedings, to remove his many doubts, and to recover his good opinion, sendeth certain Ambassadors unto him, (if they may be termed Ambassadors that go from a Rebel unto a king) of his own, and of diverse Cities and Provinces which he had drawn to his own Faction, and had alwayes ready at hand. By the mouth of these Ministers (sufficiently instructed what to say) he protested that nothing was further from his thoughts then to seize upon the kings person; For if he had had any such minde, any such intention, he might have wrought his pleasure upon him when he had him in *Paris*.

First therefore he desireth, that the Duke of *Espernons* malice and untrue Accusations might carry no credit, at the least-wise not breed any disgrace and discredit.

Next, that whatsoever hath been heretofore done, or said, might be buried in oblivion.

Thirdly, that the Duke of *Espernon*, and his brother Mr. *de Valetta* might be banished the Court as disturbers of the Common Peace.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, that the Government of *Normandy* might be given unto the holy League.

Fifthly, that his Brother the Duke of *Mayne* might be created great Master of the kings Pallace, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* made Governor of all *France*.

Sixthly, that two Armies might be levied, and maintained at the kings charges against the Hugonets, and one of them to be sent into *Picardy*, under the kings or the Duke of *Guise* his conduct, and the other into *Dolphine*, of which the Duke of *Mayne* must be General.

Lastly, that the king of *Navarr*, with all his Adherents, and all other Hereticks, might be thrust out of the Court and utterly destroyed, and a Parliament presently called, wherein they might consult of matters of greater weight and consequence.

The king perceived by these unreasonable demands that their pleasure and purpose was to make him a king of *Poland* in *France*, that is, such a king as should carry the bare Title and Name of a king, and others should rule, thinking it high time to call his wits together, to be in no longer subjection, and to begin to dissemble with them who go about to deceive and subvert him by cunning and dissimulation; he therefore yeeldeth to all that was demanded, commandeth an Assembly of the three Estates to be held the next *September* at *Blois*, exhorteth all his Subjects unto a general Peace, and deviseth all means possible to supplant the Duke of *Guise*. To this Parliament came the most and best Peers of the Realm: The Duke of *Guise* absenteth himself, either for fear, because his guilty conscience accuseth him, or of set purpose and cunning, because he seeketh to be intreated. In his absence they began to consult of great matters, in all which the king ruleth not, but is ruled; he signifieth unto the Nobility there assembled, that he taketh himself greatly bound unto them for their good and wholesome counsel, professeth himself to be unable to Govern so turbulent a kingdom any longer, desireth to be eased of so great a charge, and thinketh it expedient, both for the Common-wealth, and for himself, to imitate the example of *Charles* the fifth, and to shut himself; up as a Penitentiary in some Monastery; and therefore he prayeth them to consider to whom he might best surrender his Crown. But if his judgement might be of any force and weight with them, no man should contend for it. For no man was equal, much less to be preferred before the Duke of *Guise*; He is valiant in Arms, wise in Counsel, zealous in Religion, faithfull to his Country, and wanteth nothing requisite in a king but the name of a king; He is heard with great attention, believed without any contradiction, and the Duke is sent for with all speed possible. It is no need to bid him come, he flyeth, he seemeth to be in Heaven; but falleth as suddenly as *Lucifer* did down to hell. The king calleth him into his private Chamber, pretending to have some great occasion to confer with him; before the rest of the Nobility he giveth him into his hands certain Letters of his own hand-writing sent unto the king of *Spain*, but intercepted, by which he is convinced to have sought the kings untimely death, and the unlawfull possession of his Crown: He falleth down upon his knees, humbly beseecheth the kings pardon; And whilst with frivolous Protestations, and false Oaths he laboureth to clear himself, he is not so cruelly as justly murdered in the king presence.

The Arch-Traytor being thus executed, the Queen Mother allowed the execution, praiseth her Sons wisdom, thanketh God that it hath pleased

sed him to put that counsel into the Kings head, and to give him grace to execute the same ; and now (saith she) my Son playeth the king indeed.

The Parisians are presently certified of the Dukes death ; there is weeping and gnashing of Teeth ; the Crochilers have lost their Countenance, the Factionous their Father, the Seditious People their ambitious Patron, and the Malitious Sorbonists their Religious Protector. What followeth ? Sudden accidents must have suddain consultations ; new devises, hasty resolutions, hastie executions, and the new year must begin with new Treasons : They chuse the Duke of *Sumale* for their Head ; they draw the kings picture in the dirt through the streets ; they rob and ransack his Exchequer, his Palace, his Store-houses ; and for their last resolution, they conclude that he must be no longer their king.

According to this conclusion, after that their City was hardly beset, and they had almost endured as hard a siege as the Citizens of *Jerusalem*, they send out a desperate Jacobin Fryer, as their *Judith* to behead *Holofernes*, to execute their doom and devillish sentence upon the Lords anointed, and their lawfull king. The Fryer goeth to the kings Camp, which was at *St. Clovis*, feigneth to have Letters of great weight to deliver unto the king ; he is brought to his presence, kindly received, (for the king alwayes loved those Fryers too well) and lovingly willed to declare the cause of his coming ; he delivereth his Letters ; the king readeth them seriously, and the Jacobin, more like a *Judas* then a follower of *St. James*, seeing the kings doubler loose about him, aiming at a place where he might be sure to dispatch him, whilst he was busied in reading the Letters, thrusteth a poysoned knife into his Bowels of which wound he died within a few hours after.

You have heard his Tragedy, his Reign, and his End, and what can you finde that favoureth of Heresie ? Was it Heretical to persecute those whom they call Hereticks before he Reigned, and as long as he reigned ? Was it Schismatical to proscribe, banish, and massacre them ? Was it Apostatical to proclaim and make Wars against them, whensoever and wheresoever the Guisards required him ? Was it irreligious and hypocritical for him in a Lent time, when men use to be penitent for their Sins, to whip themselves while the blood followeth, by his own Example to induce the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and others his chiefeest Counsellors and Courtiers to do the like ? Was he a despiser of God, who with consent of the Popes Holiness, to shew his zeal, and to leave an Eternal Monument thereof, did erect a new order of Knighthood of the Holy Ghost, and took an Oath to live and die in defence of the Catholick Faith ? Was it impious, and an Act not befitting a Christian Prince, to go in person, and accompanied with most of the Peers of his Realm in Procession bare-headed and bare-footed ? If none of these things be Heresie, Apostacy, and contempt of God and Religion ; then undoubtedly the late French King, having done all these things, was no Heretick, no Apostate, no Schismatick, no despiser of God, but a Zealous, a Religious, a Catholick, and a most Christian Prince.

But the Duke of *Guise* his death is the matter that is most urged, is the

Objection.

fore that most grieveth, is the objection that needeth a present and large consultation : He was murdered without any desert, without any rightfull administration of Justice, without any manner of proof, that he had committed a Crime worthy of death. God said unto *Cain* where is thy brother *Abel* ; He

He said unto the woman accused of Adultery, Where are thy Accusers? He said unto his Disciples, In the mouth of two or three consisteth a Truth; He said unto the Judges of the Earth, Be ye wise and discreet in your judgements. And why said he all these? Forsooth, to shew that in every Capital Cause there ought to be an Accuser, divers witnesses, and a Judge to give Sentence according unto Law, and unto his Conscience.

Answer.
That the
French
King
had just
cause to
kill the
Duke of
Guise.

Truly the Laws of *France*, and the Lawes of all Nations require, that a man being held guilty of any Crime, be it never so odious, never so horrible, be called unto Judgement, and be convinced by his own confession, or some other pregnant and forcible proof, before he can be condemned. But if the crime whereof he is accused be so manifest that all the world knoweth it, that he cannot deny it, and hath nothing to say for his defence; it is lawfull to condemn him, yea, to execute him without hearing his Cause; especially, if by giving him notice of his Arreignment, you give him time and opportunity to escape without punishment: The Word of God saith, *Thou shalt do no murder*; But the Laws of Nature, the Laws of Nations, yea, the Laws of Princes say, That it is better to kill then to be killed: The Apostles have taught, that the testimony of two or three witnesses is sufficient in any Cause; but the Civil Laws require sometimes seven, other times five, and commonly they are contented with two; and by Canonical constitutions according to the degrees of dignities of Ecclesiastical persons, the testimony of seventy two, of sixty four, of twenty seven, and of seven is oftentimes requisite and necessary. God hath commanded every man to do according to his conscience; but the Lawes of Princes command all Judges to give judgement according to the proofs and allegations that are made before them. I may therefore boldly say, that not onely the Pope, (unto whom the Canonists onely attribute this power and authority) but also every lawfull secular Prince (unto whom God hath commanded that every soul should be obedient) may, upon good occasion, and consideration of some circumstances, qualify, and interpret the Lawes of God. *He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword*, sayeth the holy Scripture; and there is no expresse commandment given not to suffer Malefactors to live. But Humane Policy hath thought it convenient and equitable, that children because they know not what they do, that mad men because they are deprived of the use of Reason and Understanding, that any man killeth one another by mischance, because he offendeth through ignorance, and not of malice: And lastly, that an honest man, if he chance to kill a Thief by night or by day, in defending his own person or goods, because it is lawfull to repel force by force, shall not be condemned to death, although his crime in it self, in strictness of Law be Capital.

There is nothing more certain then the commandment of God, not to swear, and yet it is lawfull to swear; yea, it is an offence not to swear, if a man be commanded by a Magistrate to swear; and if a truth cannot be known but by an Oath, and the oath that a man hath taken must be inviolable, It cannot be broken; and there is no mans more odious, no crime more detestable then the sin of perjury; and yet a Judge that hath taken an oath to keep the Statutes of his Country without breaking the same, or without departing from the true sense and literal meaning of them, may violate them, if the iniquity of the time will not give him leave and leasure to confer with his superiour, or to ask his opinion, or if there be manifest dangers like to follow of the delay which he shall use. Besides if a Judge be commanded,

yea

yea sworn not to do any thing against the Lawes of God, or nature, or of his Country, yet if he be urged by some great occasion, or if necessitie enforce him thereunto, or if some notable danger, scandal, or inconvenience is like to follow of the strict observance of those Lawes, he may lawfully violate them. And shall a Judge have Authority to break Lawes, and shall not an absolute Prince have the like liberty? A Provost Marshal taking a Theif in the fact of committing a robbery, may hang him up presently without any forme of Judgements, and shall not a King cause a notorious Traytor to be murdered without a solemn Sentence? The Governor of a City taking an Homicide, an Adulterer, a ravisher of Women upon the fact, may chastise and punish them according to the Rigor of the Law without any forme of Law; and a King taking a Traytor being about to deprive him of his life, of his Crown and Scepter, shall he not do him to death without asking the opinion of his Judges without imploring the helpe of his Magistrates, and without impairing his Treason unto his Counsellors, or unto the Friends and Allies of the Traytors, especially when as he may escape whilst these things shall be doing, when hee is so strong, so backed with friends, so guarded with Souldiers, that if he be not executed upon a suddain, the respite and leisure which shall be given him, shall give him time and meanes not only to escape the punishment which he hath deserved; but also to put in great hazard the life of his Prince, and the weale of his Country; to be short, when either the Prince or the Traytor must die presently?

It is written of *Jehu* the Judge and King of *Israel*, that he fearing the great multitude of *Baals Priests*, and doubting that if he should put them to death by the way of Justice, there would follow some great Inconvenience or scandal to himself; he feigned that hee himself wou'd do sacrifice unto God *Baal*, and by that pretence and colour he caused them all to come together, and when they were all assembled, hee willed them all to be murdered.

Who hath heard the Historie of *Ladislaus* king of *Bohemia*, and commendeth him not for his wisdom and discretion in dissembling the grief which he took to see the Earle of *Cilia*, his faithfull and assured Friend and Uncle, killed almost in his presence, so cunningly that he not only seemed not to be grieved with his death, but also to think that he was lawfully killed, because hee presumed to come Armed into the Court where all others were unarmed? The *Bohemians* seeing how lovingly hee entertained *Ladislaus Humiades* the Author of this Murder, how kindly he used his Mother, how wisely hee suffered *Ladislaus* and his Brother *Matthias* to bring him into *Benda*, and how resolutely when he had him where hee was stronger then hee, he commaunded him to be done to death for the murder committed on his Uncles person, took it for a manifest Argument that he would prove (as indeed hee did) a very wise, just, and valiant Prince, since in his youth he was so subtile, and so resolute, and gave them so notable an Example and President of his Justice.

Who hath read the policy which *Darius* king of *Persia* used in revenging the injury of *Oretes*, who was grown to be so mightie, so proud, and so well backed with friends, that hee neither could nor durst do him to death by the ordinary Course of Justice, and prayseth him not for inventing a way to induce 30 of his Gentlemen to undertake his death? And who commendeth not the Magnanimitic and resolution of *Bagens*, who when it fell

out to his lott to be the first of the 30 that had vowed to hazard their lives for their king, went no less hastily then cunningly about his enterprize, and within a very short while murdered *Oretes*, who had beaded and braved his King many years.

Briefly, who readeth and alloweth not the History of *David*, who when a man came to him from *Saul* his Camp, and told him that he had killed *Saul*, commanded his Servant to kill him presently, and said unto him, *Thy blood be upon thine own head, for thine own mouth hath spoken against thee*. And yet every man knoweth that *Saul* killed himself, and that this poor simple man thought to have had a reward of *David* for bringing him the first news of *Sauls* death.

These premisses therefore being duly considered, it must follow that the late king had great reason and just cause to command the Duke of *Guise* to be killed. But his friends say nay; They have caused it to be imprinted that he was one of the Peers of *France*; one of the greatest of that Realme, one of the best beloved Subjects of *Europe*, and one that was allied unto great Kings and Princes: And that therefore the King causing him to be murdered, as he was, might well think, and justly feare, that in doing him to death, he should highly offend his best friends, and give just occasion unto as many as suffered any loss or detriment by his death, to revenge the same.

Caesar
Comment.

As therefore *Julius Caesar* winked at the Treason committed by *Dunorix*, and called him not into question for the same, for feare to offend his Brother *Divitiacus*, who was an assured and faithful Friend unto the people of *Rome*, and a man of great credit and Authority in his Country; even so the King should have spared the Duke of *Guise*, and not have used such cruelty towards him as he did for feare to displease and discontent his dearest and best friends; and as *Henry the 4* King of *England* deprived the Dukes of *Anwarle*, of *Excester* and *Surrey*, of the Lands and possessions which *Richard the second* gave them, and yet spared their lives; so the king had done well if he had taken away the lands and livings, and not the life of the Duke of *Guise*.

Truly if his kingdom should have received no greater loss or dammage by the Duke of *Guise* his life, then the commonwealth of *Rome* received by *Dunorix*, the king should not have greatly done amiss to have suffered him to live: But since that the Duke did alwaies aspire unto the Crown, and since he desired, sought and laboured by all means possible to usurpe the same, the King played (as his Mother said) the right part of a King, when as he resolved and executed his death with all convenient speed. For, the same *Caesar* which had pity and compassion on *Dunorix*, because his life could not greatly hinder or cross his designs and purposes, first banished, and afterwards secretly caused his near kinsman *Lucius Caesar* to be murdered because he had both the mind and the meanes to withstand and prevent his intentions: and *Henry the 4* should have had good occasion to repent him of the clemency and mercy which he shewed unto the before named Dukes, if the Earle of *Rutland* had not been constrained by his own folly to reveale unto the King their Treason and Conspiracy against him, for which afterwards they were worthily executed: Pity therefore is commendable and best bebecoming the Majesty of a Prince, when as the same may be used without any danger unto his person, or his State, or his kingdom; but when as he seeth manifestly, that never a Province, never a

City

City, never an house of his kingdom, can or will long continue in good estate, in dutifull obedience, in naturall affection towards him, and his Crown, unless he do sometimes use to play the King, to revenge wrongs, and to punish Treasons; hee must needs change his nature, make a variety of necessity, and accommodate himself unto their manners and their merities with whom he hath occasion to deale.

France never had any King that was more gentle, kinde, and courteous then that *Lewis* who for his Curtesie and Clemency was surnamed The Meek; And yet the same *Lewis* (as you have already heard) forgot that name, and the qualities and conditions incident thereunto, when it was in question whether he or his Nephew *Bernard* should rule and Reigne: For then knowing that a Prince cannot live in any good assurance of his Estate and kingdom so long as another pretendeth Right and Title thereunto, and having wrongfully been kept from the possession thereof he pluckt out his Eyes, kept him in perpetuall prison, and in the end caused his head to be cut from his shoulders.

Who can then blame the late King of France, if he chose rather to rule, then to be ruled; to kill, then to be killed; to murder the Duke of Guise, then to endanger his whole Estate and Kingdom? The Prince that revingeth not an Injuriy that is done unto his Commonaltie, or to a private person, is in danger sometimes to lose his life, or his kingdom: as were the Romans, and Philip King of Macedonia; he because he punished not *Attalus* at the request of *Pausanias*; and they, because they sent not the Frenchmen those which in the battaile betwixt them and the Citizens of *Chynse*, forgetting the dutie of Ambassadors, were found in the foremost ranke of their Enemies fighting against the Frenchmen: And is it necessary that a King shall punish or revenge a wrong done unto his Country, or unto a private man; and shall it not be lawfull for him to take vengeance of the wrongs and Indignities which are done unto himself? May he command a Judge to proceed *De facto*, without taking full knowledg of the cause, and every circumstance of the Subjects cause; and shall it not be lawfull for him, to use the like power and authoritie in his owne case? The least and meanest Judge, may he not sometimes give judgment hearing no other proof but very violent presumptions; and shall it not be lawfull for the King, from whom he hath the same Judge receiveth such power and authoritie, to do the like? We say and confesse that There is manifest, when the Thief is taken in the Fact; and shall it not be lawfull for a Prince to take that Treason for notorious which the Traytor hath Committed? If a man finde a stollen thing about a Theef, he is in danger of death; and if a man finde a Traytor armed and all things else in a readines to performe and execute his treacherous Attempts shall he not be reputed a Traytor? The Law sayeth, that whatsoever a King doth, it seemeth to be done with great reason: If he commendeth any thing, every one is bound to beleieve that he hath good occasion to commend the same. His Actions are manifest, but his thoughts are hidden and secret; it is our dutie to tolerate the one, and not to murther against the other, nor to enquire or demand the Causes, Motives, and Reasons of his Commandements; his pleasure must be unto us as a Law, and his Will hath the full force and strength of reason; and when the cause of that punishment which it pleaseth him to inflict is notorious and manifest, his Commandment, although it be done in hast, and without great advisement, yet it carryeth no less force and moment then doth a sentence

that was duly examined, wisely perused, diligently considered, and solemnly pronounced.

Why then shall the death of the Duke of *Guise* be thought unlawfull, since the King commanded the same, not for hatred to the Duke, but for securitie of himself, for love of the weal publike, not without reason and Justice, but according to Law and Equitie, (because a Princes pleasure is held for Law) not without example, but with approbation and imitation of many, who having had the like occasion have used the like punishment; briefly, not to revenge his particular quarrels and Injuries, but to preserve his Right and his Crowne, upon which the wealth, the life, and the wellfare of all his good and loyall Subj^{ts} do depend.

He was Allied unto many great Princes which are displeased with his death, and will not leave it unrevenged; But if these Princes were the Kings friends before the Dukes death, they will not take the same in evill part; and if they were his Enemies, he needs not to care for them, or to feare their displeasure more then the universal ruine and destruction of his Subjects. He was one of the Peers of *France*: But honor may not be a Priviledg unto any man to embolden him to offend the Laws; but the more honor a Subject receiveth from his King, the more he is bound to love and feare him.

But grant that the King did evill in causing him to be murthered; shall the Subjects be grieved therewith? shall they seek Revenge thereof? shall they bear Arms therefore against their Prince and their Country? May the son arme himself to kill and murther his Mother? And is he not held for an ungracious and wicked child which will be revenged of his Father although he have done him great wrong? And is not a King the Father of his Subjects? and is not every Country the Mother of the naturall Inhabitants thereof? Or may they war against their Prince without seeking the lamentable overthrow, Ruine and destruction of their Country? Are all alterations dangerous in every well governed State, and can that alteration be without danger which transferreth the Crowne from the right heire unto an Usurper, from the lawfull King to an ambitious Subj^{ts}?

But it is onely said, and no way proved, that the Duke of *Guise* had any such intention as to deprive his Sovereigne, and to crown himself; it may be suspected, but it is not notorious. This must appeare more manifestly then it doth, or else all that is said will be to no purpose.

To manifest this therefore I will briefly examine that which hath been already said, and by his own Acts and Demands convince and prove his intention. It is said that the foot shall not presume to rule the head, no more should a Subject take upon him to controll the King, or to prescribe unto him what hee shall do: And yet the Duke of *Guise*, not once, but many times rebuketh his Kings proceedings against the Protestants, blameth him of Negligence, and telleth him more boldly, then wisely, that hee must not spare them but subvert them. And what was that but to spoile his kingdom? The Counsellor is commended which rather refuseth an Office and charge with modesty, that is laid upon him, then affecteth the same before he be thought worthy thereof; and yet the Duke of *Guise* staith not untill he was moved by the King, but named himself for his Lieutenant: And what was that but to appoint the Kings Officers? Wee read of *Saul*, that it grieved him greatly when it was said that *David* had killed Twenty thousand Enemies, and *Saul* but ten Thousand;

land; and yet the Duke of *Guise*, after that he had overthrown the *German*, is termed an other *Gideon*, and he termeth his King a loiterer; and what was that but to disgrace his Sovereign? It is commonly said, that where there is no offence committed, there needeth no pardon; and yet the Duke of *Guise* would seem not to have offended, although he desireth to have all that was said or done to be pardoned, and buried in Oblivion: And what was that but to betray a guilty conscience, and an unwilling minde to acknowledge and confess his offence? The Subject that armeth multitudes without his kings commandment, when there is no fear of a Foreign Enemy, or any other in arms within a Realm, giveth many presumptions and arguments of a Rebellious minde; And yet the Duke of *Guise* doth not onely arm Multitudes, but also protesteth, that he and they will lay down his and their arms until the king yeeldeth unto his demands; and what was that but to threaten and menace his king? The Count of *St. Paul*, High Constable of *France*, was held a Traytor by *Lewis* the eleventh, and so executed, because he betrayed his counsel, and kept certain Holds and Towns of strength from the king; and yet the Duke of *Guise* must be no Traytor, who revealed the kings secrets, and withheld many Towns and Cities from him, and drave him out of the principal City of his Realm. *Francis* the first proclaimed the Duke of *Bourbon* to be a Rebel and a Traytor because he fled to *Charles* the fifth, and bore arms in his quarrel against him; and yet the Duke of *Guise* is no Traytor who favoureth the Spanish king more then his own Prince, and bringeth Spaniards into *France* to murder and massacre the kings loving Subjects.

He saw that his conspiracies and secrets were discovered by the Duke of *Espenon*, and therefore he must be banished the Court; He saw that the king of Spain prevailed not against *England*, because he had no Towns in *France*, to harbour his wearied and Sea-beaten Souldiers, and therefore at his next coming he must have *Normandy* at his devotion; for that was his purpose when he demanded that *Normandy* should be given to the holy League. What meant he when he required that his brother should be made great Master of the Kings Pallace, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* Governour of all *France*? Why demanded he no office for himself? Forsoo he, because it was not yet time for him to say he must be king. *France* could not brook two kings. The late king must be first deposed; and was it not his meaning to procure him to be deposed and deprived of his Crown at the Parliament which he required to be presently called and assembled? That was the matter of great wait, the cause of such consequence whereof they must consult; and to bring the matter to pass there must be two great Armies in readines (the one in *Picardy*, and the other in *Dolphine*) to bridle those who were most likely to withstand his Coronation, and not to admit and receive him for their king. The Hugonets also must be all subverted. They were the Orators that preserved Athens; they were the Geese that saved the Roman Capitol; they therefore must be taken away, or else he must fail of his purpose. That Nation whose king hath the honour to be called the most Christian king, may not brook an Heretick for their king; and therefore the king of *Navarr* must be taken away, he must not live any longer; the Prince of *Conde* next heir to the Crown after him, was already dispatched by poyson, and his young infant was not fit to rule.

But if the king of *Navarr*'s death might have contented him, if his overthrow might have set *France* at Liberty, and utterly have subverted the

Pro-

Protestants, why was not this king of *Navarr*'s offer accepted? Why refused he the combat, whereunto he was challenged? Such a Champion as the Duke was, should not have refused such a challenge; such a *Gideon*, that slew so many Germans, should not have been afraid to encounter with one Man, especially with such a man as forgot the name and state of a King to fight with a Rebel, as debased himself to contend with a Traitor, as if he won the battle, could not but lose some of his honour, because he had encountered with an infamous person, and if he lost the field, lost both his life and Scepter. Such a Father and Protector of his Country should not have denied to hazard his life in such a quarrel as might have saved the lives of many of his best friends, who have been killed since the time of that challenge. But he thought it best to sleep in a whole skin, and he knew how to be king without such a hazard: he had preferred many, and therefore they would and should prefer him.

But of him enough. And from him to the rest wherewith the late king was more vainly then truly charged. It followeth in the Accusation, that he prodigally wasted the Revenues of the Crown, and gave himself to all kinde of vice and wickedness.

This wastfull spending of the Revenues of the Crown, is a fault that exceedeth all other fautes; a fault that offendeth a kings Subjects much more then any other vice, because when Princes Treasures are wasted, they flie to their subjects Coffers, and empty their Chests to fill their own Exchequers. Subjects therefore for their ease require that their king should be a good husband. It was a commendation that *Tully* gave to king *Demetrius*; It is a quality that is required in a good Steward; it is a property by so much more requisite in a Prince, by how much his charge is greater then other mens; but a'though they desire that their Prince should be thrifty, yet they would not have them covetous; and as they can be contented that they should be liberal, so they like not that they shall be prodigal: Thrift maketh them able to live with their own, Covetousness enforceth them to prey upon their Subjects. Liberality procureth them the good will and love of all men; and Prodigality bringeth them to Poverty, and Poverty teacheth them to invent and practice extraordinary ways to supply their ordinary wants.

But I must not stand upon such a king as Subjects desire to have: I hasten to the Accusation, and in handling thereof I mean not to free the king from all blame, but to lay the greatest blame upon them who are most to blame.

True it is, that the Revenues of *France* are now far greater then ever they were, and that they have received their great increase of late years; yea, that the ancient kings never did nor could impose such subsidies and charges upon their Subjects as have been lately levied in *France*. For *Charles* the seventh was the first king that got and begun this point of imposing charges upon his Subjects at his own pleasure, and without the consent of the States of his Realm; and yet this *Charles* never levied more of his Subjects then eight hundred thousand Franks by the year, a smal sum in regard of that which is now levied.

After him succeeded *Lewis* the eleventh his son, who raised the Revenues from ten hundred thousand, to forty and seven thousand, and yet he layed up nothing at the years end into his Treasure-house; For he builded more Houses, and fortified more Cities then all his Predecessors did before him;

It

It is written of *Charles* the eighth that he purposed to have reduced his subsidies unto twelve thousand Francks, and to have the same sum by way of Benevolence from his Subjects, or for the defence of his Realm, meaning to defray his ordinary charges which the Revenues of his Demesnes, which together with all Customs and Impositions came to a Million of Francks. But saith my Author *Philip de Comines*, the people pay now but two Millions and one half, a great increase in so small a time; and yet no increase in respect of that which followeth. For you have heard out of *Mr. de la Nove*, that *Henry* the second, the late kings father, levied by ordinary means on his Subjects fifteen millions of Franck by the year, which are five millions of Crowns; And another of later time testifieth, that the Revenues of the late French King came unto ten or eleven millions of Crowns.

The Book called *The Treasure of Treasures of France*, setteth down at large how the Revenues are gathered, how they increased, and how they have been, and are either prodigally or unthrifely, superfluously, or extraordinarily wasted. The same Book testifieth, that divers complaints have bin exhibited unto the king against the wastfull spenders of his Treasures, and that his Majesty was sometimes minded to take some present order for the redress of those abuses. But when he began to think thereon, and purposed to call into question those which were noted to have wasted his Treasure, he was presently drawn from that intention by suddain wars, procured (as it was thought) by those who were guilty of mispending of his Revenues, to the end that he might not have leisure to examine their abuses.

It was shewed unto his Majesty, that in thirty one years after his Grandfather *Francis* the first his death, the receipt of such money as came in those years unto the Treasure amounted unto more then 400 millions of Crowns, and the expences came but to 260 millions. It was shewed that besides the same sums which entered into the kings Coffers in that time, the People had payed to the kings use fifteen millions of millions, and 246 millions of Crowns, which is as much money as 423 thousand Mules are able to carry. It was shewed that the Pope in those few years had out of *France* better then thirty millions of Crowns. It was shewed that this infinite Treasure was not wasted by the Kings of *France*, but by their Officers; That there were above two hundred twenty four Families, whereof some might dispend an hundred thousand Francks by the year, others eighty thousand, some sixty thousand, others forty, thirty, twenty, and fifteen thousand, of which the best could not dispend above nine or ten thousand Francks, and some not above two or three hundred before they had the collection of the kings Rents and Revenues. It was shewed that there were three hundred thirty eight Treasurers, of which some were worth ten thousand, others twenty thousand, some thirty thousand, some forty thousand, others sixty and eighty thousand Crowns. It was shewed that some began but with three hundred Francks a year, whose yearly Revenues came now to sixty thousand, or eighty thousand Francks, and they were worth besides thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, and eighty thousand Crowns in ready Money, Plate, and Jewels. Lastly, it was shewed, that whereas the king might well have had two hundred millions of Crowns in the Treasury, he was indebted above thirty millions. And that there might be found six and thirty Ladies in *France*, whose heirs, rather then they would be called to an accompt, would willingly pay the twentieth part of the debts of the Crown; and the above mentioned Officers might think that they escaped very well if they might be freed from all danger by paying the Residue.

Now

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Now considering that the house of *Guise*, or such as depend upon them, ruled not onely the Realm, but also managed the Treasure of *France* of late years, during the minority of their Kings, considering that the late King would and could not redress the abuses of such Officers as received, and were countable for his Revenues; considering that he was charged with greater burthens then his Predecessors, as the maintenance of his Brother, the Dower of his Mother, and of the late Queen of Scots, the marriage of his Sisters, and other debts in which he was left by his Predecessors, considering that his Revenues were increased before his time, or by such as ruled more then he in his time, and that Princes do rather augment and encrease, then diminish their yearly Rents and Demasns; And lastly, considering that of Thirty three Chambers of Account which are in *France*, not above six of them were for the King towards his end, and those of the poorest, and such as scant yeelded him Three hundred thousand Crowns, his Receipts being, as it hath been said, almost eleven Millions; no man may justly accuse him of consuming the wealth of his Crown and Kingdom.

It is likewise to be noted, that Wars are much more chargeable then they have been, and that he seldom lived out of Wars; not through his own folly, but by their fault who can blame him most; And it cannot be denied but that he gave away much unto his Favourites, and to his Minions; and yet his Gifts were nothing comparable to the excessive liberality of his later Predecessors. For it is written that *Lewis* the 11. gave to his Physician in five months Fifty four thousand Crowns, besides the Bishoprick of *Amiens* for his Nephew, and divers Offices and Lands for himself and his friends. *Bodin* in his Book *De Republica* reporteth, that *Charls* the Ninth King of *France* his Brother, gave away in the year 1572. Two millions and seven hundred thousand Francks, and the next year two millions and forty four thousand Francks, and in the last year of his reign One million five hundred and two thousand Francks, besides certain years Pensions, which amounted unto One hundred thousand Francks.

But grant that he gave much more then he did; Is it not lawful for a Prince to reward his Servants? Is it not in his liberty to cast his especial favour upon whom it pleaseth him? And is there any thing that sheweth a Kings greatness, procureth him faithful Friends, and eternizeth his Name, more then his bounty and liberality? I know that *Nero* was reprehended, because that in Fifteen years he gave away above Fifty five millions. I confess that *Caligula* is blamed for that he spent in one year Sixty seven millions. And I acknowledge that *Dion* reporteth it for no praise and commendation unto *Claudius* that he wasted in three years five Miriades of Miriades and Seven thousand seven hundred and eight drams, or as some report, One thousand seven hundred and eight miriades. I allow no such prodigality, and yet I think it not lawful for Subjects to rebel against their Princes if they be over-prodiga; I know that there be other ways to be used to restrain their excessive liberality.

I read that the Parliament House, in the tenth year of *Richard* the Second of *England*, considering that through the covetousness of the Officers by them displaced, the Kings Treasure had been imbezelled and lewdly spent, chose Thirteen Lords to have the oversight (under the King) of the whole Government of the Realm. And I finde that divers Subjects have revolted from their obedience to their Princes, because they having
wasted

wasted their Revenues, they over-charged them with Subsidies and Impositions. But I see that their rebellion wrought their own confusion.

Now from the late Kings Prodigality, briefly in a few words to his other vices; he is noted to have been somewhat more given to Venery then it became a married Prince, but I find not that his wantonness was outrageous; and sure I am, that he never had so many Concubines as *Solomon*; nor caused any man to be killed that he might enjoy his Wife, as *David* did to *Uriah*; nor made away with his own Wife to have another, as it is said the Spanish King did: And yet *Solomon* was the wisest Prince that ever lived; and no King ever pleased God more then *David* did; And the Leaguers held King *Philip* to be the mirror of the Kings in our age. Neither did the late King of *France* delight so greatly in the company of wanton women, but that he could and would have used the same with much more moderation then he did, had not the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Guise*, and others who ruled all things under him, nourished that humour in him, to the end that he following of his delights, they might the more freely govern the whole Kingdom at their own will and pleasure; a policy borrowed of Cardinal *Wolsey*. This *Wolsey* being *Henry* the Eighth his Chaplain, and brought into credit and favour by the Bishop of *Winchester*, made his House a Paradise of all kind of pleasure, and oftentimes invited the King thither, and so fed him with vain delights, that his Majesty during the greatest time of his younger years, committed the Government of the whole Kingdom into his hands.

It is written of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, that if he had had a good Governor in his youth, who would not onely have had a care of his health, but also have given him good instructions, he would undoubtedly have made a notable Prince; for he had a very good Wit, and a natural disposition to Vertue and Goodness: But the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, who by his Father was left to be the Teacher and Informer of his Youth and Manners being a very good Prince, but more delighting in Banquets, Dancings, and other such Sports and Pastimes, then in serious and grave studies befitting a Prince, brought the King up in those Vanities, wherein he took such pleasure and delight, that he cared not how little he medled with matters of State. Good Education is a great Jewel for all men, but especially for Princes, because that such doctrine and disposition as Children and Young-men receive in their youth, such they retain in their elder years. And the Prince is not so much to blame who is given unto vanities in his riper years, as they are to be reprehended who trained him up in vain Delights in the days of his indiscretion.

Quo semel
est imbuta
recens,
&c.

The blame therefore of *Henry* the Third his wantonness, must light upon them who were the Authors of his folly, and abused those good Gifts and Graces which the Almighty had bestowed upon him, which were Valour, Wisdom, Eloquence, and the use of divers Languages, Qualities not so common as commendable in a Prince: His Valour is proved by the siege of *Rechel*, where (as it is written by Historiographers of good credit) it was impossible for a Prince (for such was he at that time) to shew himself more truly valiant then he did; and the commendation which Sir *Henry Cobham* (a discreet and wise Gentleman, and of great Judgement and Experience) when he was Ambassador for her Majesty in *France* gave him, upon occasion of talk at his Table (coming from such and so able a

man as was) may serve for a sufficient proof of the rest of his good qualities: For I well remember that the said Sir *Henry*, talking with his Nephew Mr. *Maximilian Cobham* (who was then lately come out of *England* into *France*) of the late King said, that he had been imploied as Ambassador for her Majesty unto the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and divers other Princes, but among them all, he never heard any forein Prince that delivered his mind more eloquently, readily, and wisely then the said King; and that as often as he had Audience of him, he would sometimes speak in French, and sometimes in Italian; and although he Answered him fully to every point whereof they conferred, before he departed from him, yet (like a wise and discreet Prince) he would always require him not to take it for his full and resolute Answer, untill he had talked with his Council; and at their next meeting, his later Answer seldom or never varied from the former; a manifest Argument of his great Wisdom, who was able to answer an Ambassador upon the sudden, and that not at one Conference onely, but upon as many and as great occasions as he the said Sir *Henry* had to confer with his Majesty, in the space of three or four years, so well and so wisely, that his greatest and gravest Courcellors could not upon deliberation amend his sudden and extemporal Answers.

Negoti-
ation de
la pax del
an. 1575.

This commendation given him by Sir *Henry Cobham* is confirmed by the Siegneur *Darrennes*, one of the Ambassadors sent from the Prince of *Condey* unto his Majesty in the year 1575. to negotiate a general peace betwixt the King and his discontented Subjects, as well Papiests as Protestants. This Ambassador in the preamble of his Speech to the King used these words.

"We thank God that it hath pleased him so highly to favour us, as to send us a King that both will and can hear himself the wants and complaints of his Subjects, and order and redress the same according to his good pleasure, and the laudable course of Justice: For if our Writers have employed their Labours in writing to blame and reprehend those Kings which hear not but by the Ears of others, which see not but by the Eyes of others, and speak not but by the Mouthes of others; We have most great occasion to think our selves very happy and blessed, unto whom God hath sent a King so gentle, and so loving unto his Subjects, as that he will hear all our causes and controversies himself; and a King of so rare and excellent Wisdom, as that he is able to decide and determine our Contentions.

This commendation given him by Seigneur *Darrennes* far exceedeth Sir *Henry Cobham's*, because he was the Ambassador of a Prince that was in League with the late King, and the Siegneur *Darrennes* of a Prince that not long before had born arms against this King; And Sir *Henry* might speak for favour, but the other spake as he thought; because it appeareth by the rest of the speeches which he used in the same negotiation, that he neither would or could dissemble: And because this praise and commendation was given by an Enemy rather then by a friend, it cannot but be void of all partiality, assertion, or flattery.

Thus you have heard the French Kings Vertues and his Imperfections; the Leaguers folly, and the Spanish Kings indiscretion.

Now it resteth to declare unto you his further error, which although it be the last, yet it is not the least; and I fear me I shall have occasion to enlarge my self more of it then I did of the other three.

It is not unknown unto all or most part of the World, that the King of *Spain* too much crediting the light and false reports of certain English Fugitives, did once attempt, and doth still intend to invade and subdue *England*. This attempt and this intention, although it seemeth to be grounded upon good reasons, and to be allowed by the wisest Councillors; yet I will shew that it was neither begun with wisdom, nor is continued with any great discretion.

To shew this, it shall be needful to examine all and every of the causes which moved him to undertake this attempt and purpose. The causes are many, and some of them are already sufficiently declared; others rest, first to be discovered, and then then to be confuted: It hath already been shewed, that for succouring of *France*, for aiding of *Flanders*, for intercepting his money, and for favouring and furthering of *Don Antonio* his resolution to recover the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the Spanish King had no just occasion to be offended with the Queens Majesty. It remaineth to prove that the Popes Excommunication, That the false and sinister reports of the English Fugitives, the death of the late Queen of *Scots*, or the sending away of his Ambassador with some small disgrace out of *England*, giveth him no just occasion to trouble her Majesties quiet and peaceable Government.

All this being proved, his indiscretion shall be made appear by three principal Reasons. The first, because he took no good course for the accomplishment of his enterprise. The second, Because that although his course had been good, yet he neither was, nor is able to subdue *England*. And the third, Because albeit he should chance to conquer our Realm, yet he could not hold the same long.

The order whereunto I have tied my self, requireth that I begin with the Popes Excommunication. And for the better clearing of this point, it were necessary to shew what Authority he hath to excommunicate. But this is a matter that requireth a whole and large Volume; and therefore I have thought good not to meddle therewith, but to refer you for your better instruction unto the large Apology which *Marsilius Patavinus* wrote above 266 years ago in the defence of the Emperor *Lewis of Baviera* against the Pope, that would not admit or allow him for Emperor: There you shall see that the Pope, although he were Christs lawfull and indubitate Vicar, (a point which never was nor will be proved) yet he hath no more Authority then Christ himself had. There you shall read, that Christ came not into the world to Rule, that he took not upon him to Command Princes, but that both he himself obeyed, and taught his Apostles to obey Princes. There you shall understand that Saint *Paul* the Apostle, Saint *Peter*, and other of Christs Disciples obeyed the Civil Magistrate, and submitted themselves unto Temporal Government. There briefly, you shall learn that not Clergy man ought to meddle with Temporal matters; And that the Pope hath no more Authority to pardon sins, or excommunicate any man, then other Inferior [Priests and Ministers have.

That the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, nor a lawfull cause to invade *England*.

All this being true, as in that Apology you shall finde it learnedly, substantially and sufficiently proved, not by humane Reasons, which may be erroneous, but by sacred Scriptures, which cannot be controlled; your own discretion may sufficiently warrant you, that this Excommunication can be of no great force; And yet because many

of our Countymen attribute too much unto the Popes Authority, and cannot be perswaded but that he came unto the same directly, and holdeth it immediately from Christ. I will shew you as briefly as I can, how the Pope of *Rome* attained unto that great Authority which he now enjoyeth.

It appeareth by *Du Hayllan* in the French Chronicle, that in the time of *Charles* the Great, the Popes of *Rome* had no power or authority in *Rome* itself; they medled but onely with matters of Religion, with Ecclesiastical Discipline, and with points of Divinity. It appeareth also by *Platina*, *Dr. Illescas*, and *Robert Barnes*, three notable Writers of the Popes lives; the first being an Italian, the second a Spaniard, and the third an Englishman, that many years after Christs passion, and after *St. Peters* death, they were cruelly massacred and martyred by the Emperors of *Rome*. It is also notorious and apparent, by the testimony the same Writers, and of many more, that they were wont to be chosen, approved, and confirmed by the Roman Emperors, insomuch that he was not held for a lawful Pope which had not the Emperors approbation; Briefly you shall find in the Histories and Chronicles of *France*, that three Popes being chosen at one time, they came into *France* (the Kings whereof were then also Emperors) to excuse themselves and their election, because it was made without the consent or privity of the Emperor, and to stand to his opinion that then was Emperor, which of the three should be Pope; but now there is a great alteration, and a marvellous change. For the Servant commandeth the Master, the Subject his Sovereign, the Inferior his Superior, the Vassal his Lord, and the eligible the Elector; Whereat so many marvel, that it was never more necessary or expedient then it is now, to declare how this came to pass; you shall herefore understand that there was a time when as the Emperor had power and preheminnce over all the Princes of Christendom, as well spirituall as temporal; and as long as this power and prerogative continued, so long the name of the Emperor was honored of all men, his Empire was large and ample, his Dominions great and excessive, and his credit and authority was marvellous and incredible.

The
Popes
means
to grow
up to
authori-
ty.

About, or not long after this time, not God, but the Devil raised up a man, who seeking the preferment of this world, and the advancement of his See, endeavoured by all means possible to attain his purpose. What doth he? What course taketh he? What means useth he? What habit putteth on? He thinketh it not good to use any violence; his Forces are too weak, his Treasury too small, his Arms are not great, and he wanteth a Lyons skin, he therefore playeth the Fox; accommodateth himself unto the humors of Princes, counterfeiteth an extraordinary kind of Holiness, and more then a common and usual kind of Zeal, Sanctity and Devotion, and entreateth the Emperor to make him Head of all the Churches of the World; because as *Rome* was his Seat that commandeth the World in Secular causes; so the Bishop that had his See at *Rome*, was worthy to govern and rule all other Bishops in spiritual Affairs.

The Emperor that then was, had killed his Predecessor, had usurped his Empire, and had need of one to tolerate and excuse his murder, and to countenance and allow his Usurpation; and therefore taking the Pope to be the fittest man that then lived to further his purpose, yeeldeth to his demand; But the other Bishops, which before that time never acknowledged any Superiour, refused to receive and acknowledge him for their Head, who

who was wont to be their Equal and Companion. The Bishops contradiction could not make him give over his Suit, he praieſth, entreateth, beſeecheth, and never leaveth to be importunate untill *Phocas* the Emperor granteth his Requeſt. He might have contented himſelf with this Grant, with this favour; But as covetous men, the more they have, the more they deſire; ſo this ambitious and proud Prelate ſtudieth preſently how to get new Dignities, how to purchaſe new Honours; wherein he findeth not only Fortune, but the time favourable and friendly unto him. For whenas the Empire began to decay, having loſt *France*, *England*, and *Germany*, the *Huns* conquered *Italy*, the *Vandals* became Lords of the greateſt part of *Africa*, and the diſſolution and loſs of the Empire began to be ſo great, that the Emperors were ſain to give over all the Weſt Countries, and to ſeat themſelves in the Eaſt.

It happened not long after, that there fell out a great contention betwixt the Pope and the Emperor touching Images; the one commanded them to be pulled down, and the other to be raiſed up, and he excommunicated the Emperor for withſtanding his commandment.

And about this time, or not very long after, the *Lumbards* began to make great Wars in *Italy*, whoſe Forces the Pope (who was then very weak) not being able to reſiſt, was forced to ſie for Aid to the King of *France*, by whom being defended from the force and violence of his Enemies; were it to be revenged of the Emperor of the Eaſt, or to recompence the good turn and pleaſure which the Frenchmen had done him in debaſing the pride of the *Lumbards*, or to make the way to encrease his own power and magnificence more ready and eaſie, conſidering the weakneſs of the Eaſtern Emperor, whoſe power began daily to decrease and diminiſh, through the continual and cruel Wars which were between him and the Turk, he preſumed to declare the King of *France*, which was then *Charls* the Great, for rightful Emperor. And ſo he, which at the beginning was poor and needy, feared not to deprive him of the Imperial Diadem, unto whom God commanded all humane creatures ſhould be obedient, and to chuſe the Roman Emperor, whoſe election belonged in former times to the people or the Soldiers of *Rome*.

But what were the fruits, what the effects of this choyce? Forſooth, a diviſion of the Empire, the which of one was made two; a dangerous contention, and long Wars, the beginning and end whereof was moſt lamentable; For the Empire having continued a long time in the Race of *Charls* the Great, the Princes and Peers of *Italy* began to grieve and grudge thereat; Inſomuch, that entring into League and Confederacy together, they choſe *Berengarius* Emperor, and aided and animated him to make Wars againſt the lawful Emperor who was then *Lewis* the Third. This *Lewis* being hated of his own Subjects for his great Pride and Tyranny, *Othon* Duke of *Saxony* went into *Italy* with a great Army, and there ſubdued *Berengarius*, and received of the Pope the Imperial Crown for his guerdon and recompence, *Lewis* the right and lawful Emperor being then alive: The Pope that then was being *Gregory* the Fifth, and this *Othon*, whom he had made Emperor, were both Germans, and naturally hated all Frenchmen; And therefore began to deviſe with themſelves, how they might take away all poſſibility for ever from the Frenchmen to recover the Empire.

The Pope ſhewing himſelf herein wiſer then the Emperor, inventeth theſe

these means. He thought it convenient for the better countenance of the Emperor, that he should be assisted and alwayes accompanied with certain grave and wise Personages, as well for learning as for honour : and therefore he ordained that seven Princes of *Germany* should have full power and authority to chuse the Emperor, whereunto the Emperor consented most willingly, as well in regard of the hatred which he bore unto *France*, as for that there were like to rise quarrels and debates betwixt the Germans themselves touching the Election.

What doth the Pope when he hath gained this high point ? Secketh he not for something more ? Thought he that it was sufficient honour for his Pontifical Seat, that three of the seven Electors of the Emperor were Bishops, and all of them sworn to be obedient unto him in all things ? Approved he alwayes their Election ? Beareth he any respect or honour unto them that were chosen by the same Elector ? He meaneth no such thing : For he setteth them at naught, seeketh to discredit them, and is not ashamed to command them to swear that they shall alwayes defend, keep and maintain the goods of the Church, and the Popes, and also their Dignities, their Priviledges, their Laws, and their Decrees ; by vertue of which Oath he restraineth their Wills, abridgeth their Power, and enforceth them to be at his devotion.

True it is, that the Emperors *Frederick* the third and second, and *Henry* the fourth, not vouchsafing to brook their Bravadoes, their Threats, and their Outrages, opposed themselves against all their audacious Enterprises ; but they care not for the first, set as little by the second, contemned the third, and excommunicated them all.

They rest not satisfied with these honours ; they proceed further, and desire more ; commanding that no secular Prince shall take upon him to give any Spiritual Living, any Ecclesiastical Dignity ; they excommunicate as well those that give such Livings, as those which receive them at their hands ; having obtained this advantage, they covet still more ; and think it not sufficient to be Priviledged themselves, but all the Clergy must participate and taste of their honours. All Priests and Ecclesiastical persons must be exempt from all charges, subsidies, and impositions ; no man must be so bold as to meddle with their Rents, with their Revenues ; The Bishops and all the Clergy are bound to them for their Liberality : In requital therefore of these great Priviledges and Immunities, it behooveth them to purchase and get the favour, and good liking of all secular Princes ; of some, to get as much by them as they can possibly ; of others, to have their help against their enemies, and against those that will not yeeld and condescend to all their demands and desires. They deal herein so cunningly that they finde some so ready, willing, and desirous to help and succour them, that they vouchsafe to imploy their Goods, their Subjects, yea, their own lives to do them service.

All Histories are full of Wars, of Battels, of Victories, begun, fought and obtained at the instance, at the request, and in the behalf of the Popes. I shall not need to name the Princes, to record the Battels, or to mention the victories. Our Histories, and the Histories of all other Nations remember them sufficiently. Our forefathers declared them unto their Posterity, and we may have heard of them of our Fathers, of our Grandfathers.

But to give the more credit unto my speech, and occasion unto the incredulous

dulous to beleieve me the better, I will briefly discover unto you the means; the cunning, and the subtilty which they have used to attain unto their greatness, and height, and to the continuance and perpetuity of their Rule and Government.

There is nothing more profitable or expedient for him that will advance himself in credit, reputation and authority, then to know the deliberations and purposes of his Enemies: And because it is very difficult and hard to attain unto this knowledge, he deserveth gret praise & commendation, that can behave himself so cunningly, so politickly, as to learn all his secret adversaries intents, and practices; and it is not only necessary to understand his determinations, but also it is convenient and fitting sometimes to foresee and prevent them; yea, it is needfull to be acquainted with his Actions, and not onely with those which he intendeth to do presently, and at home, but also with them which he purposeth to do hereafter, and far from home; for by understanding and knowing these things, a man may quickly either get all that he desireth, or else so temporize and prolong matters until the time fall out fit and favourable for his purpose.

All Princes therefore, to have a certain and sure knowledge of these things, are accustomed to have their Ambassadors in the Courts of their Friends and Confederates, who do not onely send them certain news of the intents and purposes of their Friends, but also whatsoever else is done or said in their Courts or in their Councils. But the Pope as he challengeth unto himself a Preheminence above all other Princes, so he far excelleth them all in this kinde of providence.

For besides that he hath his Ambassadors in the Courts of divers Princes, he hath also his Espies, his Favorites and his sworn men. There are many Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Cardinals which are Councillors unto Kings, although they have sworn to do nothing in prejudice of the Holy Church, to condescend unto nothing that shall weaken or diminish the Popes authority; to learn, espy, understand, prove, attempt, foresee, and practice all things that may any wayes besit or advance his Pontifical Dignity!

Moreover, to make his way more ready and easie for his Ambassadors to understand all that may stand him in steed, he purchaseth the favour and good opinion of Princes Favourites, and such as are neereft about them, by rewards, promises, bribes, and corruptions: Unto some he giveth a Cardinalship, unto others his daughters or kinswomen in marriage, and not to leave the Princes themselves uncorrupted, he suffereth them sometimes to take the tenths of their Kingdoms, to make their profit of his Croicadoes, and to procure them to be the more ready to do him pleasure, he feedeth them with fair words, with sweet and sugered speeches, he adorneth them with new titles, with new honours and dignities, that are more gorgeous in shew then in deed; calling some of them Catholick Kings, others most Christian Kings, some Protectors of the Sea of Rome, and others Defenders of the Faith: and when he hath occasion to change or innovate any thing, then he helpeth himself with a specious shew of a zeal of Religion, with the report and remembrance of that authority which he challengeth to have received from God, and with a vain flourish of that honour and reverence, which some Princes being more zealous and devout then wise, have shewed unto him, endeavouring to perswade others by their examples to do the like. But if it chance, either by the iniquity of time, or by their incredulity whom he seeketh to make his Friends, that they will not give ear unto his perswasions, he hath presently

presently recourse unto the decrees and constitutions of his Predecessors, he wresteth the Text of the holy Scripture to serve his purpose, and forgetteth nothing that hath been either done or devised, and decreed for his advantage. He putteth them therefore in mind, that *Boniface* the eighth made a Decree, That as many as would be saved, and have a part in the Kingdom of Heaven, must of necessity be obedient in all cases and in all places unto the Pope: Wherein he doth not onely resemble, but make himself equal to, and better then his Master Christ, because he, while he was upon the earth, did not onely shew obedience, but also taught his Apostles (as I have formerly said) to be obedient unto Inferior Magistrates, and such as were in Authority; And the Pope will be both honoured and obeyed of the greatest Princes and Monarchs of the World; Yea, if all the Princes of Europe, if the sacred and general Councils of all the Nations of the World should make a Law or Ordinance, the same shall be of no force, strength, or validity, if he do not approve, ratifie, and confirm the same; and if any Prince being more bold then the rest, presumeth to say there have been many bad and evil Popes, it shall be answered him presently that he ought not therefore to condemn or reject their pontifical Authority, and that no man upon earth may be so bold as to examine or reprehend, or censure the Popes actions.

I have acquainted you with many Devices, great Subtilties, and fine policies, but the finest deceits are yet behind; For is it possible to have a better means to overthrow and ruinate a Princes Enemies, then to make them perish without laying hands upon them, without effusion of blood, without spending of money, without imploying his own Force and Authority? There is no Victory but is honourable, and yet of all Victories that is most commendable which is purchased with least effusion of blood or spending of money. The Pope therefore aiding himself with this kinde of policy, whenas some Prince or other being mightier then he, will not bow under his yolk, against whom he dareth not make open Wars, he seeketh by all means possible to bring him into hatred with some other Prince; he slandereth him, spreadeth evil rumors and reports of him, taketh away his good name, scandalizeth his person; and imploereth the Aid and Assistance of all Christian Princes against him; he giveth his Kingdom to him that can or will invade the same; he declareth him to be an Hereticke, he depriverh him of his Scepter; he taketh all his Titles from him, he commandeth his Subjects not to obey him, he suborneth his own Children to rise up in Arms against him, he procureth his Subjects to seek his overthrow, he causeth another to be crowned in his place, and he excommunicateth both him and his Kingdom.

And if neither the Forces of his Enemies, nor the rebellion of his Subjects, the confederacy of many Princes against him, nor the pollicies whereof we have spoken be able to supplant and suppress him, then he procureth some one or other to kill him, or to deliver him by some Treason into the hands of his Enemies.

Truly these are strange policies, cruel devices, and such kind of revenge as a man shall hardly find to have been practised by secular Princes; and therefore that my words may carry the more credit, since they tend to the discredit of the holy Father of *Rome*, I will prove by the Testimony of authentical Histories all that I have said.

Boniface

Boniface the eighth, solicited the King of *England* to warr against *Philip* the faire King of *France*; And Pope *Benedict*, who cared not what it cost King *Philip*, so that his Popedom might bee honoured by the Holy Warrs, which the said King had promised to make against the *Turk*, defamed him through all the world, calling him disloyall, false and forsworn Prince. Pope *Hildebrand* sowed great dissentions and immortal warres betwixt the Princes of *Germany* and the Emperor *Henry* the 4. and commanded the Electors to chuse another Emperor in his place; and when that would not prevaile, he suborned the Son to beare armes against the Father, and so deprive him of the Empire. *Alexander* the third procured the *Millanois* and other Cities of *Italy* to rebell against *Frederick* the Emperor; and *Alexander* the sixt took the name and Title of most Christian King from *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and gave it unto the King of *Castile*. It is written that *Innocent* the fourth held a Councell at *Lions* in *France*, and with the helpe of the *Frenchmen* thrust *Fredericke* the second from the Empire, and caused *Henry Landgrave* of *Thuring* to bee chosen in his place. And we find in diverse true Histories, that Pope *Pascall*, *Gregory* the 7. *Victor* the 3. and *Urban* the 2. had great variance and contention with the Emperor *Conrad* and *Henry* his son for the Collations and Installations of Bishops; And when they could not otherwise hurt them, they excommunicated both the Father and the Son.

But I have to tell you a more strange History, a more wicked Action, and such a one as becomed not a Christian, much less the Pope, who calleth himself the Father of all Christians; And that is an History of *Alexander* the 3. who was so furious, indiscreet, and frantick in prosecuting the hatred which he bore unto the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, that besides other malicious and wicked meanes by which he sought to have him killed, whiles the good Emperor was busied in warring against the *Turk* for the good and benefit of all Christendom, he sent word unto the *Turk*, that he should look for no peace at the Christians hands so long as the Emperor lived, and that therefore it behooved him to look for some meanes to surpris and kill him; and to the end the Emperor should not escape the *Turks* hands, unto whom hee was not known, hee sent him his picture, whereby the *Turk* found a way within a small time after, to take him Prisoner. And although the Emperor feigned himself to be the Emperors Chamberlain, yet that could not helpe him. For the *Sultan* conferred him with the Picture which the Pope had sent him, and thereby knew him. And when the Emperor was sett at Liberty, not without great charges to himself, and greater detriment to the whole State of Christendom, he assembled the Princes of *Germany* together, and there shewed them the Popes letters, and likewise the Picture which he had sent to the *Sultan*.

There wanted no good will in *Gregory* the 7. that the Emperor *Henry* the 4. was not killed in hearing Mass, by a great Stone which hee had caused to bee hung so cunningly and artificially right over the place where the Emperor should heare Mass, that while he was upon his knees, and at his devotion, it should have fallen down upon his head; but it pleased God to preserve the Innocent Emperor, and to suffer the Stone to fall upon the chief Workemans head whiles hee was making tryall of his skill and cunning.

What shall I speak of his unsatiable desire of Revenge, who so much forgot God and the reverence which his best Predecessors bore unto the

Sacrament of the Altar, that he caused the same to be poysoned and a good Emperor to be poysoned therewith.

But what do I trouble you with Forreign examples, with old and ancient Histories, since we have some of later time, some nigher unto us, some domesticall Testimonies which do sufficiently witness the Fury, Enmity, Hatred, Cruelty and Tyranny of Popes? Can any man desire a better proof of the Popes Avarice then the History of King *John*? This King (as our Chronicles testifie) was somewhat too severe to his Clergy, and over-hard to the Nobility of his Realme, insomuch that both rebelled against him, and had their recourse for their better Ayd unto the Popes Holiness, who presently excommunicated him, and commanded all Christian Princes, and especially the King of *France*, to invade his Country. The *French* King obeyeth his commandement, and sendeth his Son *Lewis* with a great Army into *England*, where he is received with great honor, and aided by the rebellious Barons with all the helpe and power that they could make for him.

The King perceiving that he was too weak to encounter with his own Subjects, and with the Forreign supplies that were sent them, and thinking that it was best for him to seek for helpe at his hands by whom he was hurt, sent presently Ambassadors unto *Rome* to pacifie the Pope, by making his kingdom Tributary unto him, and by promising to hold the same of him, to take him for his Superior, and to bee obedient unto all his commandments. The good old man presently changeth his mind, pacifieth his own wrath, and of a deadly foe, becometh the Kings great friend, insomuch that he revoketh whatsoever was before decreed; excommunicateth the King of *France* for robbing the Patrimony of the holy Church, and commandeth the English Subjects to return presently unto the dutifull obedience which they owe unto their King.

Is there any Man so ignorant within this Realme, that hath not oftentimes heard how many times the later Popes of *Rome* have sent not only secular Men, but Seminary Priests into *England* to murder our gracious Sovereign? There are some Widowes and Orphans within this Kingdom, who lament even at this day the death of their husbands, and of their Parents which have lost their lives because they would have deprived our mercifull Queen of her life at the Popes instance and instigation.

It were to be wished that poor *France* had not lately felt the great miseries which follow after the Popes heave indignation; It should not have lost within the space of 15 years 14 hundred thousand men, nor Strangers but naturall *French* men; it should not have lost in so small a time above 142950. *French* Gentlemen; it should not have lost in so unhapy a time their late King, the first King that ever was murdered by his owne Subjects in *France*; it should not complaine that the Father had killed the son, the child his parent, the brother the seed of his mothers Wombe, and the kinsman the next of his owne kin; briefly, it should not be pestered and plagued with such unnatural Subjects as delight in the slaughter of their owne Country men, as comment and approve of the wicked, horrible, and most odious and detestable Murder of their owne Leige Lord and Sovereigne.

Now seeing that either the Approbation of murder, as in the Emperor *Phocas*, or the Allowance of unlawfull usurpations as in *Charles* the great, or the Toleration of wicked Rebellions, as in *Henry* the son against the Emperor

Emperor *Henry* the Father; or the maintenance of wrong Titles, as in King *Pipin* of *France*; or the practise of subtile and devillish devices, as in the before mentioned *Popes* hath caused the Advancement of *Popes*: It must needs follow, that they have not lawfully attained unto the Authoritie which they now challenge.

But to omit all that might here be conveniently spoken against the Succession of *Popes*, against their Authoritie, their Pride; their abuses, and the Injuries offered unto all Nations that either voluntarily or forcibly have lived under their obedience:

To leave to tell you how many *Catholick* Princes they have excommunicated as Hereticks, how many Seditions, Tumults and Wars have been raised in the world by them, and in the defence of their causes: To leave to declare unto you, how many religious Princes and Kings have nothing esteemed their excommunications, & how many had good occasion to commend and bless them; briefly to avoide that prolixitie which could not be avoided if I should enter into this discourse; I will onely signifie unto you, the great Wrongs, losses, and Indignities which our Realme alone hath received by receiving the *Pope* and his Authoritie; for, of a brief declaration hereof will follow this great benefit, that when it shall appeare (as it may appeare unto as many as will vouchsafe to reade the before named *Marsilius Patavinus*) that their Authoritie is usurped; and that by receiving and acknowledging the same, our Realm felt many inconveniences, and many Miseries, from which it is now freed, no man should think her Majestie to be Lawfully excommunicated, whome the *Pope* hath anathematized for not reverencing him, and his Authoritie, whom her Predecessors long since rejected.

The great wrongs losses and Indignities which England sustained by Acknowledging the Popes Authority.

There was a time when as our Kings, blinded with the same zeale and affection which now possesseth the hearts of those Princes which are wholly devoted unto the *Popes* holiness, honored him as those Princes now do; then there was no Realme comparable to ours, neither for number, nor for beautie of religious houses; There was no Country that yielded greater Obedience unto the Sea of *Rome*, no people that was more readie to receive and entertaine the *Popes* Legats, to honor and reverence them, and to fulfill and accomplish whatsoever they required at our hands.

This great zeale and obedience of ours, whereas it should have purchased us especiall favors (for he that loveth most, ought to be requited with most love) procured us in time great hatred; for no Nation had the like injuries offered unto them, as were proffered unto us. Whence this hatred proceeded I shall not need to relate, our Historians ease me of that labour and paine, and the manifold Abuses which are suffered will manifestly prove the same.

There is nothing that derogateth more from the Majesty of a King then to be ruled by Forrein Laws, nor any thing that grieveth or offendeth Subjects so much as to be drawn from home into remote and far distant places to prosecute their Right and Suits in Law; The first is odious, because it disgraceth the Country whose Prince endureth that Indignitie; and the last is grievous, because it is both troublesome and chargeable.

In the time of our Superstitions and foolish zeale unto the Sea of *Rome*, *Thomas Archbishop* of *Cant.* was slaine in his Cathedrall Church by *William Tracey*, *Reynold Ursin*, *Hugh Marvell*, and *Richard Britton*; who thinking it not convenient that a proud Prelate should prefer the *Popes*

Commandment before our Kings Authoritie, and being grievously offended with the great Indignities that were offered unto our King and his kingdom, for his superstitious and contentious Bishops sake, came out of *Normandie* of purpose to end by his death those troubles and vexations, from which they thought that our Realme could not be freed so long as he lived:

The King when this Murther was committed in *England*, was in *Normandy*, where hearing the News thereof, he greatly lamented his death, Clothed himself in Sack-Cloth, confessed himself unto Almighty God, and protested before his divine Majestie, that he neither was guiltie or privie to the Archbishops death, (unless he might be held for guiltie which had just occasion not to love him over well) besides *Henry* the second (for he was then King) having for this Bishops sake, tasted somewhat of the bitter fruits of the Popes Indignation, and fearing that when his death should be known at *Rome*, he should incurr his further displeasure, sent presently certain Ambassadors unto *Rome* to excuse him, and to signifie his Innocency unto the Pope, but his Holiness would not admit them unto his sight, untill that certaine of his Cardinals told him, that they had expresse commission from their King, to signifie unto his Holiness, that he would stand to the Popes and his Cardinals Iudgment, and undergo what Penance soever it should please him and them to lay and inflict upon him.

The Pope sendeth two Cardinals into *England*, before whom the King sweareth, that the Murther of the Archbishop was undertaken and performed without his consent and privie; And yet because he confessed that in his wrath and anger he had spoken some words that might perhaps embolden the Malefactors to commit the same, he could not be Absolved before he promised to give the Cardinals so much readie money as would maintaine 200. soldiers for a year in the Holy land, and also that all his Subiects should have libertie to appeale from his Courts unto *Rome*, a great punishment for a small offence: For what a trouble and grief was it thinke you unto the Subiects of this Realme, to have all causes carried unto *Rome*, where they spent their travel and their money many years before they could be ended, and received no indifferent Iudgment, because their Contentions were for the most part (as you shall heare) with *Italians*, who found better favour, either for mony or for love, then our Countrimen, which were meer Strangers unto the Judges.

But these griefs are nothing in respect of those which we endured in the time of *Henry* the third, the which were so grievous, that the King together with the Clergie and Nobility complained thereof unto the generall Councell which was held in *Pope Innocent* the third his time at *Lyons*.

They complained, first that the Pope not being contented with his Peter-pence, did newly exact new contributions of the English Clergy, and still intended to extort more and more from them, contrary to the ancient Customes and Liberties of *England*.

Next, that the Patrons of Churches, when they fell void, could not present fit Clerks unto them, as by grant from the Pope they might do, but their Churches were collated unto *Italians*, who understood not our Mother tongue, and therefore could not instruct their People, whose Soules for lack of discipline and good instructions perished.

Thirdly, they complained that the Pope imposed upon their Churches more Pensions then he had formerly promised to take of them, and leaved

vied divers taxes within this Realme, without the Kings knowledge or consent.

Fourthly and lastly, that *Italians* succeeded unto *Italians* in the best Benefices and Ecclesiastical livings of *England*.

Of which followed these Inconveniences: First, there was no Hospitality kept for the releif of the Poor. Next the word of God was not preached to the edifying of mens Soules; their divine Service was not celebrated to the comfort of mens consciences; and lastly churches were not repaired to the benefit of their next Incumbents.

It was further shewed, that the Clergy of *England* was enforced to maintain and arme, some Ten Souldiers, others five, and others fifteen, to bee sent with sufficient Armor and horses to serve the Pope, in what place soever it pleased him.

Again it was declared, that although there was an Ancient priviledge in *England*, that no Legate should come into the Realme unless the King required and allowed him; yet they came continually one after another, and the later still exceeded the former in troubling and overcharging the Realme.

Moreover it was proved, that besides the Popes Tributes and Subsidies, *Italians* held Benefices in *England* to the yearly value of 60 Thousand marks; and transported out of the kingdom the most part of that money, to the great impoverishment of our Country.

Neither were these griefes so lamentable, but that it grieved all estates in our Country much more, that our best wits for lack of such preferment as was due unto Learning, were faine to leave the Universities, and to betake themselves unto Mechanical Trades, and such Occupations as were not fit for men of their Gifts and capacities, whereby our Realme was almost induced unto a very Barbarisme.

The Ambassadors that made this complaint, were men of great dignity, mature Judgment, and of exceeding great learning: But what could they prevaile in a Councell where the Popes Faction was so strong, that at the very self same time he deposed the Emperor *Frederick*, and sent away our Ambassadors greatly discontented: For he gave them a charge straightly to command all Bishops in *England* to set their hands and seales to that detestable Charter which King *John* made to the Pope for a yearly pension to be paid unto the Sea of *Rome*; unto which commandement all the Bishops (more indiscreetly then wisely) shewed themselves most obedient: But the King protested that although the Bishops had bowed their knees unto *Baal*, yet he would stand stoutly in the defence of the Liberty of his Realme, and would never pay any yearly pension unto *Rome* under the name of a Tribute.

I might here take occasion to tell you how this Tribute grew, but you must remember that I have already touched the same somewhat, in all that may be said in the behalf of the Pope; and for the maintenance of that Pension, it hath been lately confuted in a learned Treatise called *Anti-Sanderus*; I might also proceed in declaring other inconveniences which our Realme hath endured by our voluntary subjection unto the Pope: But these may suffice to commend those our Kings for their wisdom, and magnanimitie which cast off that yoke, amongst whom there are none that deserve greater commendation then the Queens Majesty that now reigneth, and her Noble Father and godly Brother: For some of their predecessors
(indeed)

(indeed) permitted not the Pope to overcharge their Subjects; but they have discharged them of all kind of Grievances which he was wont to put them unto, and have both wisely and boldly excluded him and his Authority, which he wrongfully usurped. Whereat both his Fatherly reverence and our Romish Secretaries so much repine, that they cry out with open mouth, that it is against all Reason, all Divinitie and Scriptures that secular Princes should have and arrogate unto themselves any manner of Authority in Ecclesiastical causes.

This, and the Substraction of such Taxes and Impositions, as the See of Rome was wont to impose upon the English Clergie, are the true and only Causes why the Pope thundereth his Interdictions and Menaces against our Gracious Sovereigne and her kingdom; although he pretenderh that her dissent and diversitie from his Religion only moveth him to excommunicate her Majesty: You have heard sufficient Reasons to justifie the taking away of those duties and services; And the same might be warranted by the Examples of many Forreine Examples, who upon the like occasion have done the like: But I may not handle every matter that is worth the handling, in this discourse, which already is grown to be far larger then I thought it should have been; And yet considering the Impudency of our Adversaries in denying all kind of Authority unto Temporall Princes in spirituall Causes, and for satisfying you somewhat in that point, who especially Charged me to yield you some satisfaction therein, I will in few words, and by a few Examples fetcht from the holy Scriptures, prove unto you that this her Majesties proceeding in Ecclesiastical Causes is warranted by holy Scriptures.

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Joshua King of *Judah* commanded *Helkias* the high Priest of the second Order, and the Keepers of the Doores to bring out of the Temple of the Lord, all the Vessels that were made for *Baal*, and to do any manner of things mentioned in the 23. Chapter of the second Book of *Kings*.

David assembled the Sons of *Aaron* and the *Levites* to bring the Ark of the Lord into the House prepared for it, Commanding them to sanctifie themselves; And *David* had a Linnen Garment, as all the *Levites* had that bear the Ark, And upon *David* was a Linnen Ephod: *David* also blessed the People in the Name of the Lord, and appointed Certain of the *Levites* to be Ministers before the Ark of the Lord: He Likewise divided Offices to the *Levites*, to their Priests, and to their Sons.

Solomon set the Courses of the Priests to their Offices, according to the order of *David* his Father, and the *Levites* in their Watches, for to praise and Minister before the Priests every day, and the Porters by their Course at every Gate, For so was the Commandment of *David* the Man of God.

Jehosaphat, in the third year of his Raigne sent his Princes to teach in the Cities of *Judah*, and with them the *Levites* and Priests. And after he had appointed Judges in Civil Causes over all *Judah*, he set in *Jerusalem* certaine of the *Levites* and of the Priests, and of the Chiefest of the Families of *Israel* for the Judgement and Cause of the Lord; and made *Amoriat* the Priest the chief over them in all matters of the Lord.

Isaiah Commanded the *Levites*, the Priests and *Jehoiada* the Chief Priest to gather Money of all *Israel* to repair the House of the Lord.

Briefly, *Hezekias* goeth further then all these; for he repaireth the Temple of the Lord, and commandeth the *Levites* to cleanse themselves, and to sanctifie

sanctifie the House of the Lord. He commandeth the Priests the Sons of *Aaron* to offer his Sin Offerings upon the Altar of the Lord. He appointeth the *Levites* in the House of the Lord with Cymbals, with Viols, and with Harps; He willed the *Levites* to praise the Lord with the words of *David*, and of *Asaph* the Seer. He set posts through all *Israel* and *Judah* to command them to come to keep the Passover with him, and to turn unto the Lord; He appointed the Courses of the Priests, and of the *Levites* by their turns, every Man according to his Office. Briefly he commanded the People of *Jerusalem* to give a great part to the Priests and *Levites* that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord.

Since therefore the Queens Majesty intermedleth not in Ecclesiastical Causes so much as these Princes did, or any thing more then other Kings & some of her Predecessors have done; Since, when her Majesty called a Parliament to Consult of temporal matters, the Bishops and Prelates of this Realme have a meeting also in their Congregation House, where whatsoever they decree and order, is ratified by her Highness Royall Assent and Approbation; since not her Majesty but her Graces Father was the first that assumed unto himself (not without just occasion) the Title of Supream head and Governor in all Causes Ecclesiastical within his Majesties Realms and Dominions; And Briefly, since what power soever the Pope had over *England*, was long since taken from him, This sentence of Excommunication against her Majesty is neither warrantable by Law, nor any sufficient cause for the King of *Spain* to invade our Realme.

Now to the false Reports of our English Fugitives who (as all other Fugitives have accustomed to do) fill the King of *Spains* ears with many vain Fables, seeking thereby to exasperate him against our Realm & to extenuate the Forces thereof, to the end he may think the Conquest of *England* to be a matter of no great difficultie; They calumniate her Majesties Justice, accuse her Government, and blame her Proceedings against Seminaries and Romish Priests sent into this Realm from *Rome* as out of the Trojan Horse, to seduce her Majesties loving Subjects, and to withdraw them from their Obedience. These grievous Accusations be sufficiently answered in a little and very learned Treatise Called the Execution of Justice.

But the Chiefest Point which they reprehend in Her Highness Government, is there unanswered, and therefore I have thought good to recall it in this place. They signifie unto the Spaniard, That her Majesty had, before the Coming of his Invincible Navie, so overcharged her Subjects with new Subsidies and unaccustomed Taxes and Impositions, that they neither would be willing nor able nor to defray so great charges as should be requisite and necessary to maintain an Army by Sea, and an other by land; This Accusation is augmented, because her Majesty hath called a Parliament almost every fourth year since she came to the Crown; and in some of them hath not been contented with a single Subsidie, but hath charged her Subjects with a double Subsidy; A matter (as they say) never heard of in any of her Predecessors times, nor then needfull when it was required.

For the better answering of this objection, I must run over the whole Raignes of some of her Majesties Predecessors, thereby to make it appear that they called Parliaments and levied Subsidies as often as her Highness hath done; And because it would be tedious to trouble you with many, I have restrained my self unto two only, namely unto *Ed. 1.* and *Ed. the 3.*

The

The Commons granted a Subsidy unto *Edward* the First in the third year of his Reign, and another within two years after; then having no extraordinary expences until the eleventh year of his Reign (which was six years after) he obtained another Subsidy; And when he had reigned two and twenty years, the Clergy gave him the half of their goods, the Inhabitants of the Cities the sixth part, and the rest of the common people the tenth of all that they possessed. And yet within two years after, he levied of all Towns-men and Citizens the Eighth part, and of the Country people the Twelfth part of their goods; and because the Clergy refused to grant him a Subsidy at that time, they were all excluded from his favor and protection; for the recovery whereof, some by themselves, and others by their friends gave him the Fifth part of all that they possessed. Neither did the Liberality of the Laity, nor the bounty of the Clergy so free them from further Contribution, but that the very next year after, the King having occasion to War against *Scotland*, the common people gave him very willingly the Ninth part of their Goods; the Clergy subject unto the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* the Tenth, and the Clergy of *Tork* Diocess the Fifth part, because they were nearer to the danger and invasion of the Enemy.

Edward the Third had a Subsidy of his people the sixth year of his Reign, and another the next year after, and within four years after the Commons granted him a Fifteenth, the Burgesses of Towns and Inhabitants of Cities a Tenth, and the Clergy as much for three years together; And yet the same year, the City of *London* was charged with Two hundred armed men, *Canterbury* with Forty, *St. Albans* with ten, and other Towns and Cities according to their wealth and ability. Two years were not fully ended, but the people were charged again, and so almost every third year during his reign, until that in the Forty fifth year thereof he levied a certain sum of Fifty thousand Marks of his Subjects; and within six years after, he charged all persons of his Realm, as well men as women that were fourteen years of age, to pay him Four pence a peece, except onely such as went a begging from door to door. The like Subsidies were levied by *Richard* the Second, by *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, and almost by all the rest of our Kings; the which for brevity sake, I pass over with silence.

But to clear her Majesty the better of this accusation, and to make it known unto her Subjects how greatly they are bound unto her Highness, for sparing to use such means for money, as many of her Predecessors used in time of their necessity; it will not be a miss to acquaint you and them with many ways that our Princes have practised to relieve their wants, of which her Majesty, although her occasions to use money were greater, or as great as theirs, never did put any one in practice. In the recital of these practices, I will not name our Kings in order as they reigned, but relate their means to make money as they shall come to my memory.

Edward the First called (by a Writ called *Quo Warranto*) all together that held any Lands of him, to shew by what Title they held their Lands, who recovered much money of the meaner sort, who having no evidences to shew, durst not withstand his demand, untill the Earl of *Surrey*, called before the Justices to the same effect, answered, That he and his Ancestors entering into this Realm with *William* the Conqueror

Conqueror won their Lands by the Sword, and that he would hold his by the Sword; which stout answer made the king surcease his demand.

Henry the seventh wanting money, caused all penal Statutes to be examined, and all forfeitures layed upon his Subjects by them, to be strictly and severely exacted. Which exaction cost *Richard Empson* and *Edmond Dudley* their lives.

Henry the first, in a Parliament held in the one and thirtieth year of his Reign, put Priests to their fines who lived with their wives still in house with them.

Henry the second, Anno 1166. ordained a Collection to be made through all his Countries and Dominions of two pence in the pound of every mans Lands and Goods (Jewels and Apparel onely excepted) to be paid the same year; and for the space of four years next ensuing one penny of every pound to be paid yearly; and those that had not the worth in goods and lands to the value of twenty shillings, and were house-holders, and had any offices, they should pay a penny to this Contribution. And those that departed this life within the term that that this Collection was current, their debts being paid, were appointed by the same Ordinance to pay the tenth part of all the residue of their goods unto this Contribution.

Richard the first, to make money for his voyage against the Turks, levied a Tax, engaged, sold, and let to Farm his Lands, his Tolls, his Customs, and other his Revenues, with certain Countries and Offices; and understanding that *Hugh Pudley* Bishop of *Durham* had great store of ready money, he sold to him the Mannor of *Seggesfield*, with the Wapentake belonging unto the same, and also found means to perswade him to buy his own Province, which he did, and was thereupon created an Earl by the King for the same, and was Intitled both Bishop and Earl of *Durham*; He had likewise great sums of money of the Citizens of *London* for Priviledges granted unto them. Besides he had licence of Pope *Innocent* to dispence with such as pleased him for their vows, and to go into the Holy Land, although they had taken the cross on them for that purpose, and of those he took abundantly; and divers others he compelled to fine. Also he feigned that he had lost his Seal, wherefore he commanded a new to be made, and willed it to be proclaimed and published in every Country, that those to whom he had granted any thing by his Deed or Charter, meaning to enjoy the same in surety, should not think it much to come and have it confirmed by his new Seal, least afterwards the other being lost, their lawful Titles might be called in question. Lastly, he levied the tenth part of all the moveable goods throughout the Realm of *England* to the aid of the Wars, and this Collection passing under the name of an Alms, was extended upon the goods of Spirituall men as well as Temporal. This King was (as you shall hear hereafter) taken Prisoner in returning from those Wars; and for his Ransom order was taken that all manner of persons as well Spiritual as Temporal, should give the fourth part of their whole Revenues due to them, for that year toward the Kings Ransom. The same king after his return sold the Offices of Sheriffs and divers other Offices, and procured a Subsidie to be given unto him of two shillings of every tithing-land, and commanded that every man should make for him the third part of Knights service accordingly, as every Fee might bear, to furnish him forth into *Normandy*. The same King by vertue of a Parliament, called back, and resumed into his hands all Patents, Annueties, Fees, and other Grants, before his voyage

into the Holy Land, by him made, or otherwise granted or alienated. And because it should not seem he used a meer extort violence herein, he treated with every one of them in most curteous wise, bearing them in hand that he well knew they meant not to let forth their money unto him upon usury, but would be contented with such reasonable gains and profit as had been raised to their use in the time of his absence, of those things which they held of him by Assignation in way of loan, so that now the same might be restored unto him again, since he meant not to sell them, but to let them forth as it were to Farm for a time, as all men might well understand, considering that he could not maintain the port of a King without receipt of those profits which he had so set forth; And hereunto every man yeilded, although no man had received a third part of the principal which they had layed forth. The same King having borrowed a great sum of money of the Merchants of the Staple, called the Monks of *Osteaux*, gat them to pay the same, telling them that he borrowed it of certain Merchants beyond the Sea, upon confidence of their good benevolence. The same King caused all Offices in *Armen*, *Poitou*, and *Mayne* to fine with him for their Offices. The same King seemed in appearance to be offended with his Lord Chancellor for concluding the Truce with the French King, and therefore took the Seal from him, and caused a new to be made, proclaiming through all his Dominions, that not any thing sealed with the old Seal should stand in force, both for that his Councillors had wrought more indiscreetly then was convenient, and because the same Seal was lost when his Vice-Chancellor was drowned; wherefore all men were commanded to come to the new Seal that would have their Charters and Writings confirmed. The same King having levied two shillings once before of every Hide of land, levied 5 s. of every Hide of Land for a Subsidie, raising every Hide to certain hundred acres. Lastly, the same King caused Turneys to be exercised in divers places for the better trayning of men at Arms in Feats of Arms, whereby he raised no small sums of money for granting license to his Subjects so to Turney; every Earl paid for his license twenty Marks, every Baron ten Marks, and every landed Knight four Marks, and those that had no land two Marks.

Now from this King unto others, King *John* in the year 1204 levied a Subsidie of two Marks and an half of every Knights Fee, belonging as well unto Spiritual as unto Temporal men; the which exaction must needs be very great, considering that there were better then forty thousand Knights Fees in *England*, and that every shilling then was worth three shillings in these dayes, according to the rate which *Sir Thomas Smith* maketh in his Book *de Republica Anglorum*.

Henry the third revoked all lands granted in his Minority unto his Servants, and called to an account all his Officers, displaced some, fined others, sold his Plate, and borrowed so much money as he could get of the Londoners, of Priors, Abbots, and of the Jews; of one of which named *Aaron*, it is written that he had at one time above 30000 Marks.

Henry the third again obtained certain Authentick Seals of the Prelates of *England*, and sealed therewith certain writings and instruments, wherein it was expressed that he had received certain sums of money for dispatch of business pertaining to them and to their Churches, of these and the Merchants of *Florence* and of *Sienna*, whereby they stood bound for repaiment by the same Instruments, made by him their Agent in their names. The Pope yeilded his consent unto this shifte, because it should go unto the discharging

discharging of the kings debts into which he was run by bearing of the charges of the Wars, whereof I have made mention in another place against the king of *Sicilie*.

The same *Henry* caused a Proclamation to be made, that all such as might dispend 15 *l.* in land should receive the honour of Knighthood, and those that would not, should pay their Fines; and five Marks were set on every Sheriffs head for a Fine, because they had not distrained every person that might dispend 15 *l.* land, to receive the order of Knighthood, as was to the same Sheriffs commanded. The same *Henry* in the Forty fourth year of his Reign, had granted him a *Scutagium* or *Escuage*, that is fourteen shillings of every Knights Fee. The same *Henry*, in the second commotion of the Earl of *Gloucester*, engaged the Shrines of Saints, and other Jewels and Relicks of the Church of *Westminster* for great sums of money, where-with he got Aid out of *France* and *Scotland*. Briefly, the same *Henry* caused all the weights and measures throughout all *England* to be perused and examined, and laid great Fines on their heads that were found with false Weights and with false Measures.

Edward the second, for his defence against the Scots had the sixth penny of temporal mens goods in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*: And *Edward* the Third for the recovery of *France*, besides other Subsidies, took the ninth Lamb, Fleece, and Sheaf of Corn through *England*.

Richard the Second had a Mark of the Merchants for every Sack of their Woolls for one year; and six pence of the buyers for every pound of Wares brought in from beyond the Seas and here sold. He had likewise towards his charges for the Wars of *France* a Noble of every Priest, Secular or Regular, and as much of every Nun; and of every married or not married man or woman being sixteen years old four pence, and forty shillings of every Sack of Wooll; of which ten shillings to be employed at the kings pleasure, and thirty shillings to be reserved for his necessity.

In the 24. year of *Henry* the Eighth his Reign, when his Majesty married with her Highness Mother, the Lady *Ann Bullein*, Writs were directed to all Sheriffs to certifie the names of all men of 40 *l.* lands to receive the honour and order of Knighthood, or else to make a Fine.

It is written by *Philip de Comines*, that our Kings when they wanted money, were wont to feign that they would go into *Scotland* or into *France* with an Army; and that to make great sums of money, they would levy men, and pay them for a matter of two or three months, within which space they would again dismiss their Armies, although they had taken money of their Subjects enough to maintain them for a whole year or more; and many times they had money of the King of *Scotland* or of *France* towards the charges of their Wars.

It is written by *du Haillan* in the Tenth Book of his French History, that *John* King of *England* being in great want of money, enjoyed for six years together all the Benefices of his Realm, and all his Bishopricks, Abbeyes, and Monasteries, wherewith he defraied the expences of his House and of his Armies; which he might do very well, because the Revenues of such Benefices as Italian Priests enjoyed sometimes in *England*, came by just computation to above seventy thousand Marks by the year. And it was declared in a Parliament held in the 11. year of King *Henry* the Fourth his Reign, that the King might have of the temporal possessions, Lands and Revenues which were lawfully consumed by the Bishops, Abbots and

Priors of *England*, so much as would suffice plentifully to finde and maintain 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6209 Esquires, and an hundred Hospitals more then were at that time. The same King *John* accused sometimes one, sometimes another Nobleman of *England*, that they lost his Towns and Cities beyohd the Seas by their negligence, and fined them at great sums of money.

Thus I have with as much brevity as might be, waded through the severall reigns of most of the longest-lived Kings of our Realm, and have set you down about thirty sundry and divers kinds of ways which they have used to make money in time of their want and necessities; of all which, her Majesties greatest enemies cannot truly shew or prove that her Highness in thirty six years that her Grace hath now reigned, ever used as much as one; and if it may please those that being Fugitives abroad, and most envy and malign her peaceable and quiet Government at home, to confer the necessities of her Predecessors with the urgent occasions that her Grace hath had to use much ready money, they shall finde that her Ancestors never had so just occasions of necessary expences as her Majesty had of late years, yea almost for the whole time of her reign.

For albeit her Majesty hath not had continual open Wars, as some of them had, yet her charge hath been nothing inferior unto theirs. For first, Wars are now adays (as I have said) far more chargeable then they were wont to be. Then her Grace hath had no other Princes to contribute towards her expences as her Predecessors had. Next her Loans to foreign Princes, as to the Kings of *France*, of *Navar*, of *Scotland*, to the late Duke of *Alencon*, and to the States of the Low Countries have been very great. And lastly, her charges both by Land and Sea could not chuse but amount yearly to infinite sums, considering how many times her Highness hath been constrained to send her Navy to the Seas, and her Land Souldiers forth of the Realm. Besides, her Predecessors charges were for the most part voluntary, being undertaken to conquer, and not to defend their Realms, to get other Princes Dominions, and not to conserve their own; to revenge forein injuries, and not to repulse domestical invasions; briefly, their Wars were for their own profit, and hers for her Subjects benefit; considering therefore, that whatsoever her Grace hath levied, not granted unto her by her Parliament, without any contradiction, without any accusing her of Prodigious ty, without any such exception taken against her demands, as hath been taken against other her Predecessors, without any suspicion of her evil Government, therefore without any consigning the managing and government of the same unto others, then unto them who by her Majesties appointment have the custody thereof, it is a manifest argument, that her Subjects were always most willing to yeeld to all manner of contributions that her Highness in her Princely Wisdom and Discretion did take to be necessary for the defence of her Realm. And if these malicious Accusers would look upon the governments, upon the Exactions, upon the extortions of such Princes in whose Realms they either live by Alms, or wander up and down as Vagabonds, their own consciences (if at least they have any) would condemn them of malice, of untruth, or of gross ignorance; for the wisest amongst them may and are well able to make large volumes of such Subsidies, Taxes, Impositions and Grievances as are levied in *France*, *Italy*, & *Spain*, of which the hundreth parts are unknown, much less practised in *England*, and this must needs appear to be most true and manifest, since it cannot

be denied that in some Dukedoms of *Italy*, the Circuit of which is not comparable unto one Shire of *England*, the yearly Revenues of the Duke far exceed the Revenues and Rents of the Crown of *England*.

Moreover, if it may please this Viperous generation of Fugitives to call to mind the Interest that Princes have in their Subjects Goods, and the great power that is given unto kings in the Old Testament over the Lands and Possessions of as many as live under their Obedience; and also to remember, that Princes, the longer they live, the more absolute, Imperious, and self-conceited they are in the Execution of their Government, and the more Experienced in their proof, they must rather commend then condemn her Majesty, whom neither continuance of time, nor fulness of Authority, nor presumption upon the good Wills of her people, nor confidence upon the Equity of her Cause, nor the consideration of her Subjects weal, wholly depending upon her welfare; nor briefly, the remembrance of her gentle and sweet-Government, hath ever imboldened to be over-chargable unto the Realm, or over-burthen some unto her Subjects. This grievous accusation is more truly then briefly refelled.

Now leaving the rest of these Fugitives suggestions unto another place, wherein I shall have occasion to handle them more fully, I will end this point with condemning the King of *Spain* for being too light in crediting these Rebels in two principal points.

For first he ought to have considered, that neither the vain Pamphlets dispersed by his lying Ambassador *Mendoza*, nor the malicious book written by Cardinal *Allen*, was able to alter, remove, or shake the natural and dutifull affections of our English Subjects; they were too well acquainted with the Ambassadors old and inveterate malice, with his hostile practices, and his desperate intents. They knew the Cardinal to be a Religious Fugitive, to sell his tongue and the use thereof for money, to be like unto *Richard Shaw*, that was hired to preach at *Pauls-Cross*, and there publickly to justify the wrongfull usurpation of *Richard* the third; to resemble the Duke of *Buckingham*, who neither feared nor blushed to commend the same cause for just and most lawfull in the *Guildhall London*; to imitate *John Petit* a Preacher of *France*, who for a far less bribe then a Cardinalship, allowed, approved, and commended, in Pulpit and in writing, the most horrible murder committed by the Duke of *Burgoyne* on the person of the Duke of *Orleans*: And lastly to follow his example, who (without all example) was not ashamed to write a large volumn against the late king of *France*, and therein to deduce many reasons, many causes, for and by which he maintained that the said King might be lawfully deposed, and another set up and established in his place.

The Spaniards
indifference
in
crediting
our English
Fugitives.

Secondly, he might have considered that those Fugitives are (for the most part) peevish and discontented Schollers, fitter to mannage a Pen then a Lance, to dispute of Philosophy, then to discourse of War, to be partial in their own conceits, then to be prodigal in their assurance; briefly, to be ready to say more then they know, especially when they are either assured, or in good hope, by saying much to obtain much: he might have remembered that *Johannes Viennensis* sent into *Scotland* by *Charles* the sixth of *France*, although he was a man of great experience, a Captain of long continuance, and one that by his long abode in *Scotland* knew *England* and her Forces far better then our Fugitives do, deceived his King at his return out of *Scotland*, in reporting unto him the strength of our Nation; he had fought with many of our Armies, had seen 60000 Foot-

men,

men, 8000 and Horsemen of ours in the Field, was of opinion that our Country was easie to be conquered within the Realm, howsoever it prevailed and conquered abroad; And lastly, he both knew and signified unto the king, that the Duke of *Lancaster* was absent in *Portugal* with the Flower and chief Youth of *England*.

These reasons moved the French king to determine to invade *England* presently, to carry an huge Army to *Sluce* in *Flanders*, to assemble all the Nobility and Peers of his Realm for that voyage, and to promise unto himself an assured victory against *England*. But what event had this journey? What effect followed of this persuasion? The king hearing that the Duke of *Lancaster* was returned out of *Portugal*, and that in *England* far greater Forces were prepared to resist his invasion then *John* of *Vienna* had mentioned, withdrew his Forces from *Sluce* unto the places from whence they came; and as the Spaniards would cover their dishonour received in their attempt against *England* by the Duke of *Parma* his not joyning with them in convenient time, as it was decreed in *Spain* before they departed out of *Spain*; so they laid the fault of not proceeding in the journey upon the Duke of *Berry*, who knowing the Forces of *England* (as undoubtedly the Duke of *Parma* did far better then those that took upon them to make report thereof) came not unto the French king at *Sluce* until the dead of *Winter*, when it it was too late to depart thence to invade *England*.

And as the Frenchmen falsely charged the Duke of *Berry* that he had received Bribes of the king of *England* to divert his king from his intended enterprise against *England*; So the Spaniards more indirectly then justly, blame the Duke of *Parma*, that in consideration of some reward either received or promised from us, he held not his promise to joyn his power with the *Spanish* strength against us.

And lastly, as of the French vain enterprises and all the preparations thereof, there came nothing else into *England* but certain great Tents and lodgings of Wood, capable, (as their Authors report) of all their kings huge Army; So of the *Spanish* invincible Navy, and of their mighty Army, nothing was seen in *England* but the spoil of their strong Armado, and the flags of their tallest ships, which were brought to *Pauls* Cross and there shewed unto the People as notable monuments of their wonderous overthrow.

The late
Scottish
Queens
death
gave the
Spaniard
no just
occasion
to invade
England.

Now followeth the death of the Queen of Scots, a Queen in whom God had joyned some vertues with many vices; a happy Queen, if she had not been too much affected unto the Pope of *Rome*, too much led and counselled by the *Spanish* King; a Pope and a King that have overthrown more noble Families in *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, and *Scotland*, then they have true and good Noblemen within their Realms and Dominions.

Of this Queen because she was nobly descended, and the mother of a most noble King, I forbear to set down what *Buchanan* hath written: And yet because her Majesty is charged to have done her to death wrongfully, I cannot but relate what another reporteth of her; Another, that was neither an Englishman, nor a Scot, but a German: Another that writeth of her as *Cornelius Tacitus* doth of his Emperors, *Sine ira & studio*, without hatred or affection; for she was unto him as those Emperors were to *Tacitus*, neither known for any good turn that ever he received of her, nor hated for any wrong that ever she did unto him. This Queen (saith my Author) being weary of her second husband, whose life was often sought, and at length unhappily

happily shortned, not long after his death married James Hepburn Earl of Bothwel, whom during her Husbands life she had used most familiarly. Certain Nobleman of Scotland, being greatly moved with the indignity of so wicked a deed, and desirous to revenge so horrible a Parricide, raised an Army against the Queen, and forced her to resign her Kingdom unto her young Son; But they confined her unto a certain Island, whence escaping the next year by corrupting her Keepers, and the Hamiltons Forces which fought in her defence, but overthrown by the Lord Protector of Scotland, she meaning to go unto her Mothers friends into France, took her journey by England, where she was detained; and when as certain Treasons, intended by the instigation of the Pope against the Queen of England her State for the delivery of the Scottish Queen, and establishing her in both Kingdoms, were revealed and discovered, she was more straightly kept and looks unto, until at length because she had used many means to deprive the Queen of her life, she was condemned to death in the year 1586. by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament House, and executed the same year accordingly.

Against this Sentence, and his execution there are made these exceptions. First, it is said, That the late Queen of Scotland, being an absolute Prince as well as the Queen of England, could not be condemned to death by her, because *Par in parem non habet potestatem*. Next it is alleadged, that if a Prince should so much forget himself, as not onely to pronounce, but also to execute a sentence of death upon his Equal, over whom he hath no manner of Jurisdiction or Authority, other Princes will be greatly offended with this Sentence; and never endure that it should be put in execution. To these Reasons there is added a Third, That since there is no Law as yet written to punish a Prince with death, they think it unlawful to make new Laws, new Statutes for the punishment of a Prince; and in case it were lawful, it is not known who should make these Laws, who should administer them, who should execute them; and therefore sithence there is no law against Princes, there can be no great punishment inflicted upon Princes; and because there was never any custom known or practised to proceed so severely against Princes Lives, it must needs be against all good Custom to call their Behaviour in question, or their Lives into danger.

The favourers of this cause proceed further, and look upon the malice and wickedness of Subjects, who as soon as they begin to hate their Prince, unjustly and for no occasion, would quickly by themselves or by other Princes, by open violence, or by secret conspiracies, be rid of their Princes; So (say they) would it come to pass, that by whom Princes ought to be preserved, by them they should perish, and by whose help they should be delivered against all others, through their hatred they should be destroyed by themselves.

The Patrons and Advocates of this Queen bring another reason to confirm their opinion. For (say they) if a Prince fall willingly into another Princes hands, or if it happen that flying from his malicious Subjects, or from his foreign Enemies, or being driven by Tempest, or other casualty into one Kingdom, when he meant to go into another, or that being in the field, one Prince is detained by another, the detainer that shall not ransom but execute such a Prince, shall break and violate the Laws of Arms, of Humanity, or of Hospitality.

Lastly, The Laws of Nations require, that Princes Ambassadors, even in the hottest broils, and most bloody contentions that betwixt Princes, shall

Six Arguments in the behalf of the Scottish Queen used by her friends to prove that she could not lawfully be condemned by our Queen.

shall have free ingress and egress into and out of the Kingdoms into which they are sent : But if the Laws permit, or rather command Ambassadors, who do but represent the persons of Princes, to be free from all dangers ; what honest or just pretext can there be to violate or wrong their Lords and Masters ? For, it is against all reason, against common practice and experience to spare the Servant, and to spoil the Master ; not to hurt the Subject, and to murder the Prince ; to dismiss the Messenger, and to detain the Sender ; briefly, to honor him who representeth another mans person, and to disgrace the party whose person is represented.

The Answer to the first Argument.

These are the most substantial Reasons that are made against this Sentence ; And to every one of these I will frame a brief Answer. *Par in parem non habet potestatem*. And therefore Princes who are most commonly equals, cannot exercise any power or authority one against another. True it is, that this is an ancient principle or maxime in Law ; but as other Rules or Maximes have their exceptions, so this position is not without a limitation, without an exception or interpretation. Two Magistrates (I grant) being made and constituted by their Superior with equal power and authority, have no power or jurisdiction one over another ; but they are created as it were with this condition, that they shall use the authority which is given them by their Princes against their Inferiors, and to those that are subject to their several jurisdictions. But sithence this Law was made in their behalf onely who do acknowledge a Superior, and that in such a time, and in such a State in which there were many Magistrates but one King ; many Judges but one Emperor ; many that were equals among themselves, but one that excelled them all in power and authority ; I take it that the same concerneth absolute Princes no more then a privilege granted to *Ti. cius* alone belongeth unto *Marius* ; For sithence that the charge and alteration of time hath brought forth so many Kings instead of one Emperor, that almost every Country hath now his several King : Since the consent and general agreement of people hath given full power and authority unto their Kings to make what Laws they pleased ; since need and necessity requireth that new Laws be made and published almost every day ; and that they being once made, shall not be of force out of those Realms within which they are established, it cannot be but both absurd and ridiculous to beleeve and affirm that a Law made many hundred years ago, by a Roman Emperor, and that in *Italy*, shall in these days bind those Princes over whom the Emperor hath no manner of power, and that when a rient Emperors had it long sithence abrogated and abolished. For as many Shires and Provinces of *England*, *France* and other Countries, which had their several Kings, are now reduced under the obedience of one King ; so contrariwise the Emperor, which was wont to command many Nations, is now brought to such a low ebb, to so smal and slender an Estate, that he can hardly challenge the absolute Rule and Government over the twentieth part of one Nation ;

Since therefore Laws made by our Ancestors are so derived to our after-commers, that it may be well said, that they are as well Successors unto them in their Laws, as they are their Heirs in their goods ; it is certain that many Laws remain still which were made many years ago ; but no Prince will admit or allow them any longer then they shall be found to be profitable and expedient for the Commonwealth, or then they shall not diminish their royal Authority ; hence it cometh that some men hold opinion, that a King

King cannot make a Law which shall prejudice his Successors: hence it cometh that former Laws may Lawfully be abrogated; and others, although they be quite contrary, made in their stead, so that they be found profitable for the State. Hence lastly it cometh that the latter Statute repealeth the former, and that which came last to light obtained most force. Neither although there be but very few or no Princes, (especially in Christendome) which even in these days of Weakness and infirmity of the Empire, do not greatly respect and reverence the Emperor; And albeit there be very few Lawyers which do not both read and admire the large volumes of the Civil Laws, Compiled, or rather digested into order by *Justinian* the Emperor; yet is there any King that useth the same Laws as *Justinian* his Laws? Or any Civilian that joyneth not the knowledge of the Statutes and Constitutions of his Country with the Studie of the Imperial decrees and Ordinance? In *England* the Civil Law hath small force, and lesse use: In *France* it is in great Credit; but there is a Capital punishment laid upon them who in pleading a Cause presume to alledge a Civill Text as a Law made by the Emperor, but they alledged them as Laws approved by the French King. For, when as the King of *France* perceived that his Majesty should be greatly blemished and prejudiced, if he should Govern his kingdom by Forreigne Laws, and yet he saw that it was impossible to have or invent better Laws then the Civil Laws are, he entertained the best of them, being very loth that so good Laws should utterly perish, and be forgotten; But he commanded them to be Called his and his Successors Lawes, least that it might turn to his discredit to Govern by other Princes Laws. What accompt other Nations make of the Civil Laws, it is easie to Conjecture by this; That in *Germany* it self, in which only Country the Emperor hath Imperial authority, there are many Provinces which have banished the Civil Law.

Considering therefore that Laws made in *Spain* binde not us in *England*, and that the Frenchmen are not tyed to ours; who shall be esteemed wise that will affirm, that these Kings are Subject unto *Justinians* Laws, which are nothing inferior unto *Justinian* his Successor in power and Authority? But grant that the Emperors Laws have now as great Force and Strength as ever they had, and that this Maxime, Principle, or Rule in Law (*Par ipsum parem non habet potestatem*) doe bind all the Kings of the World; yet it shall appear that it cannot any thing at all avails the late Scottish Queen.

For First, as it oftentimes happeneth that men of great Authority, lose the same by their own default, or Negligence; So princes going out of their own Countries into other kingdoms and Dominions, make themselves inferior unto them in whose kingdom they remaine.

This is proved by Common experience. For, what Householder (be he never so poor) will suffer a rich man to rule, or be his better in his own House? What Master of a Ship will permit a Passenger, be he of never so great Wealth, to Guide or Govern his Ship? Or what Captain can or will endure that a young Nobleman, be he of never so great birth and Parentage shall lead and direct his Soldiers? The sweetness which is in Commanders admitteth no Companion; The Pope, the Emperor, or if there were any greater then they, hath no share, no part or Portion therein; but all, were it never so much, belongeth wholly unto him that ruleth; And there is such a feeling, such pleasure in this sweetness, that to extenuate the same by words

is dangerous, to diminish it by deeds perilous, and to make others partakers of it, foolish in a King, and Capital in a Subject. *Eumenes* was King but of a poore Castle, and yet he would not acknowledge mightie *Antigonus* for his Superior. *Pompey* was a Subject, and yet he could not endure any one man to bee above him. *Cesar* a Citizen of *Rome*, and yet he could not brooke an equall: And the late Prince of *Orange* a Prince of no great Power or Wealth, and yet he held himself for as absolute a Prince as the mightie Monarch of *Spain*.

This again is proved by a notable example of the Emperor *Charles* the 4. who coming into *France* in the time of *Charles* the 5. King of *France*, to end all debates and quarrells betwixt him and our King, was mett upon the way by the *French* King; which is a ceremony observed by them who acknowledge themselves to bee inferior unto him whom they meet, but the Emperor as soon as they were mett, would have yielded the highest place unto the King, and accepted it not without great ceremony; and it was written that it was given him but of Curtesie, a Curtesie usuall among Princes aswell as amongst private men; for as private men in their own houses, and at their own Tables, will of Curtesie sett meaner men then they are before themselves; so Princes when strange Kings come into their country, will prefer them before themselves. It is certain that the Emperor precedeth of right, all the Princes of Christendom. And yet when *Francis* the first King of *France*, was brought from *Pavia*, where he was taken Prisoner, into *Spain*, at their first meeting, the Emperor and he embraced one another on horseback, with their Capps in their hands, and in covering their heads there passed great ceremony betwixt them, each of them striving to bee the last that should bee covered, and after that they had talked a while, they both covered their heads at one very selfesame time. And after that there was a new strife betwixt them for the right hand.

This again is proved by the Emperor *Sigismund*, who when hee would have made the Earle of *Savoy* (as you have heard upon an other occasion) Duke at *Lyons*, hee was commanded by the Kings Attorney not to attempt any such thing in *France*, aswell because it was thought, that being in an other Kings Country, he lost his Authority and Power to create a Duke, as for that it seemed unto the *French* King that he was not to suffer him to use any Royall Authority within his dominions.

The
Queen
of *Scots*
is inferior
to the
Queens
Majesty.

The Queen of *Scots* therefore when shee was in *England*, was inferior unto the Queens Majesty, and this inferioritie is proved by three other principal Reasons. The one because there is an inequality betwixt Kings; one of them being better then an other. The other because she was her Majesties Vassall; and the third because she was deposed, and so no longer a Queen; First for the inequality, it is certain that the Kings of *Spain* and of *France* be both resolute Princes, and yet *France* challengeth precedency before *Spain* for five principal causes.

The first, because the consent and opinion of the learned is for *France*, and not for *Spain*.

The second, because the *French* Kings have a long time had the honor to be Emperors, and not the Kings of *Spain*.

The third, because the *French* Kings have been called most *Christian* Kings these many hundred yeares, and *Ferdinando* the fift was the first (and that but lately) that was called the Catholick King of *Spain*.

The

The fourth, because at the Feast of *St. George* in *England*, *France* even in *Queen Maries* time, was preferred before *Spain*.

The fifth, because the house of *France* is more ancient then that of *Spain*, which reigned long before the Castle of *Hapsburg* was builded.

The sixth and last, because the book of ceremonies (which is kept at *Rome*) preferreth *France* before *Spain*.

Next to *France* is *England*, as appeareth by the same book, which putteth *England* in the second place, and *Spain* in the third. Again, those Kings are best which are Crowned; and by the same book it is evident, that *France*, *England* and *Spain* only have Crowned Kings. Next it seemeth that the me;ner sort of Kings also strive for Precedency, and one of them will be accompyed better then another; For it is written that *Matthew* King of *Hungary*, thinking himself better then *Ladislaus* King of *Bohemia*, when they met once together, *Matthew* went bare-headed, and tyed about the head with a green Garland, because hee would not put off his Capp unto the *Bohemian*, but have him put off his unto him; which the King of *Bohemia* perceiving, deceived his expectation, by tying his own Capp so fast unto his head, that when they met hee could not put it off; and so the *Hungarian* being bare-headed, saluted the *Bohemian*, that was covered.

But to leave these Inequalities, and to come unto the second point, which being proved, it must needs follow, that the *Scottish* Queen was farr inferior unto our Queen, unto whom shee owed honor, homage, and obedience.

That the Kings of Scotland owe homage unto the Crown of England for Scotland.

Many of our Kings have challenged the Sovereignty over *Scotland*, but none prosccuted the same more eagerly then *Edward* the first; who because hee would be sure that his right thereunto was good, caused all the Monasteries of *England* and *Wales* to bee searched, to see what evidences or bookes he could finde in them to prove his Title. The King found in the Chronicles of *Mariam*is Scotus, of *William* of *Malmesburg*, of *Roger* of *Hoveden*, of *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, and of *Radolph* of *Lucet*, that King *Edward* his Predecessor in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred and ten subdued the Kings of *Scotland* and *Cumberland*, and that the Subjects of both these kingdoms, in the nine hundred and eleventh year, chose the said *Edward* for their Sovereign Lord. He found further that *Adelans* King of *England* subdued in the yeare nine hundred twenty six *Scotland* and *Northumberland*, and that the People of both Countreies submitting themselves unto him, swore unto him both fidelity and homage. Hee found again that King *Edgar* overcame *Rinad* the son of *Alphinus* King of *Scots*, and that by that victory, he became King of Four kingdoms, namely of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*. He found also that *St. Edward* gave the kingdom of *Scotland*, to bee held under him, unto *Malcolm*, son unto the King of *Cumberland*; and that *William* the Conqueror in the sixt year of his raigne conquered the said *Malcolm*, and took an oath of homage and fidelity of him. The like did *William Rufus* unto the same *Malcolm*, and unto his two Sons, who reigned one after another. Besides it appeareth unto the said *Edward*, that *Alexander* King of *Scotland* succeded his brother *Edgar* in his kingdome, with the consent of *Henry* the first King of *England*; that *David* King of *Scots* did homage unto King *Stephen*; and *William* unto King *Henry* the second, unto *Henry* the third, unto King *Richard*, and unto King *Iohn*.

It appeared again by the Chronicles of *St. Albans*, that *Alexander King of Scots* in the thirty year of King *Henries* Raigne, married *Margaret* his Daughter at *Yorke*; and then and there did him homage for his Kingdom; Lastly it appeared by the Popes Bulls written into *Scotland*, that the Kings of *Scotland* were excommunicated by divers Popes because they would not obey the Kings of *England* their Lords and Sovereignes.

But against all this and whatsoever else may be said by us to fortifie and defend our Title, the *Scots* make three principall Objections.

The first that their King never did homage unto us but for the Countries of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland* and *Huntingdon*; the which they confess they held of our Kings, and by their grant and gift.

The second, that *Edward* the third being chosen Arbitrator of the great and notable contention that was betwixt *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce* for the Kingdom, took the two Competitors aside, and sounded which of them would take the kingdom to hold it of him, which when *Robert* (whose Title was, as they thought best) refused to do, and *John* was content to performe, hee wrongfully pronounced Judgement for *John Balliol*; and so extorted this Homage by Fraud and Corruption.

The third, that the Estates of the Realme never acknowledged this Homage, but were so farr from yeilding thereunto, that the Nobility of *Scotland* deprived *John Balliol* of the Crown, and gave the same unto *Robert* the first, because he submitted himself and his Kingdom unto King *Ed.*

The three Objections may not be unanswered; and therefore unto every one of them in Order. True it is that a King may hold his Kingdom of no Superior, and yet owe Homage for some Member thereof unto another, or some Principality that hee holdeth of an other, and he shall still nevertheless remaine a most absolute King: For who will deny King *Edward* the third of *England* to be either absolute or Sovereigne King of *England*, although he swore Homage and Fidelity unto King *John* of *France* for *Gascoigne* and other Dominions which he held of him in *France*? Or who will take the Emperor *Charles* the first not to bee an absolute and Sovereign King in *Spain* or other his Dominions and Kingdomes, because hee sometimes owed Fidelity and Homage unto the *French* King for the Dukedome of *Burgundy*? But the case is altered in the King of *Scots*, because hee did Homage both for these Countries and for his Kingdom: And this is no good Argument. The King of *Scots* did Homage unto *England* for certain English Provinces held of *England*, therefore they did not Homage for *Scotland*.

But the second Objection is of better weight, and yet may bee thus answered; I might here oppose the Credit of an English man against a Scots credit, and desire to have *Holinshed*, and *Tho. Walsingham* speaking for us, to be as well believed as *Hector Boetius* and *George Buchanan* would bee credited when they speake for *Scotland*. But you shall heare this Objection confuted by an *Italian*, namely by *Polidore Virgil*, a man of more indifferency, of less partiality, and perhaps of better Judgement: against whom if it be be said, that he was either hired to write our History favorably, or that he could write nothing of us but what he had from us; I answer that there was never any man justly condemned upon a bare and light suspicion; and I esteemes say as I once said before, that where a matter cannot be proved but by domestical witnesses, there such a proof is both allowable and lawfull.

Then

Then to refell this Objection, I say out of *Polid. Virgil*, that King *Edward* pronounced not Judgment for *John Balioll* because he promised to hold *Scotland* in homage of him, but because he came of the eldest Daughter of King *David*; and *Robert Bruce* of the Second. I strengthen my saying by these Arguments; First, it is said, that King *Edward* very wisely, when as this great contention was referred unto his Audience and determination, he called together (as *Hector Boetius* himself writeth) the learnedst men of *England* and of *Scotland*; he sent the State of the Question into *France*, whence he received Answer, that *John Baliolls* Title was the better; And because he might be suspected if he should examine the matter alone, and give sentence himself, he chose 12. *English* men (as *Boetius* saith) or 20. (as *Holinshed* reporteth) and as many *Scotts* as *English* men, whom he made Judges of the controverſie; and they when they had thoroughly discussed both competitors Rights, gave Judgment for *John Balioll*, which Award was confirmed by the King. Then whenas the King had seen so many Evidences and proofs confirming his Right and Title unto the Sovereignty of *Scotland*, as are before mentioned, is it likely that he who had Right to that which he demanded, would condition with the Competitors in such manner as is objected? Lastly although he had made *John Balioll* to enter into such a condition, and to binde himselfe thereunto, this cannot help the *Scotts*; for that it is lawfull for any Man to claime his Right at any time, and to tell him that is likely to detain and withstand his Right, that he shall not have his lawfull Favor unlessse he will be content. And this is most lawfull in a cause of Contention betwixt the Sovereign and his Vassal, because the Sovereign must require Homage at his hands, and the Vassal is not (in some Mens opinion) bound to do him homage unlessse it be required.

The third Objection is Answered with as little difficultie as the rest: For the chief Piers of *Scotland* acknowledged Obedience and homage unto King *Edward*: They consented unto the delivery which *John Balioll* made unto our king of his kingdom; they required our king to be bound (as he was) in an hundred thousand Marks to deliver the kingdom to their king again within two moneths; and they appointed certain principal Noblemen to receive and keep the Revenues and Profits of the Crown to his use, whom King *Edward* should declare to have best Right thereunto.

Again, *John Balioll* was not deprived of his Crown by the States and Nobility of *Scotland* (as *Bucanan* reporteth) but was enforced (as *Hector Boetius* testifieth) to resigne all his right in the Crown unto King *Edward*, and to relinquish and give over his kingdom and at the same time all the Nobility of *Scotland* did swear homage and Obedience unto our King: and *Boetius* hath nothing to say in their defence, but that our King enforced them thereunto; As though it were not lawfull for the Superior to constrain his Vassals and Subjects (in case fair means cannot prevaile with them) by violence to acknowledge their duty and service unto him. But it pleased the Almighty to punish the *Scottish* disloyalty, Inconstancy and Rebellion: they revolted often; They broke their promise many times; They thought it lawfull to delude us with fair words, and to deceive us with vaine promises; But the eternall who hateth deceivers, and deceitfull dealings, so prospered all our Attempts against them, that

our King for a while left them destitute of a King, caused them to swear and submit themselves unto some of his own laws; made the Earl of *Pembroke* (whose name was *Odemar Valentinian*) Governor of *Scotland*; and to the end they should have no Memory, no Monument nor Testimony of a Royal Majesty, he transferred a Seate of Stone (whereupon their Kings were wont to sit at their Coronation) out of *Scotland* into *England*, and the same remaineth at this day at *Westminster*.

Now to leave these and the like Testimonies, because they carry the lesse credit, for that they are reported by our own Historiographers, I will come to the violent presumptions which may be gathered out of their own Histories.

First, it cannot be denied that God hath blessed us with many famous and notable Victories against the *Scots*. Then it must be granted that we had alwaies wit enough to make our best advantage of those victories. Next, it is not likely but that we took the benefit of such advantages: And who will think that when we were so often provoked, so many times deceived, so thoroughly informed of our Right, that we would not claime our Right? Again, at the very time of this notable competency betwixt *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce*; it is written that *Ericus* King of *Norway*, sent certain Ambassadors with Letters of Commission from him to demand the Kingdome of *Scotland* in the Right of his Daughter *Margaret*, sometimes Wife unto the King of *Scots*; in which Letter he acknowledged our King to be Lord and Sovereigne of *Scotland*. And why should there be found Bulls of Excommunication against the Kings of *Scotland* for not obeying our Kings? Or why should it be recorded, that two Kings of *Scotland* Carried, at severall times, the Sword before King *Arthur* and King *Richard* at their Coronations? Or why is it not probable that *Scotland* should be as well Subject unto us, as *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* were unto the Empire; *Naples* and *Sicilie* unto *Rome*, *Burgundy* and *Navarre* unto *France*; the Duxedom of *Moscovia* and the Marquisate of *Brandiburge* unto *Polonia*; *Portingall* unto *Spaine*, and *Austria* unto *Bohemia*? Or lastly, why may it not be thought, that as these Kingdoms and Dominions remaine still in their old Subjection and acknowledged their Ancient Sovereigne, so *Scotland* ought to do the like? Our Fortune seldom failed us against them; They never used us so kindly, nor our kings at any time behaved themselves so unwisely, that they Resigned their Right and Title unto *Scotland*, as other Princes have done.

But now to the like advantage of this kind of inferiority, as a Frenchman contracting or bargaining with one of our Nation in *England*, maketh himself by this contract and Bargaine a Subject unto our Laws; so any man whatsoever offending within our Realm subjecteth himself, by reason of his offence, unto our Jurisdiction: And this is so true, that a very mean man being a Judge, if a great personage remaining under his Jurisdiction (who by reason of his greatness may seem to be freed from his Authority) shall commit an offence worthie of Punishment during his abode there, the same mean and Inferior Judge may lawfully punish his Offence. Example will make this matter more cleer. For Example sake then, grant that a Bishop abideth a while within an Archdeacons Jurisdiction, and there offendeth in some Crime that deserveth Punishment; the question may be, whether the Archdeacon may punish this delinquent?

For the Negative, it may be said, that *Par in pacem non habet protestatem*, much lesse an Inferior against his Superior; and that an Archdeacon is *Oculus Episcopi*, and *Major post Episcopum*; and therefore can have no Authority over a Bishop; yet it is resolved, that if the Bishop be a stranger, and not a Bishop of the Diocesse, the Archdeacon hath sufficient Authority and the power to Chastise and Correct his offence; but he cannot meddle with him if he be his own Bishop; And the reason of the diversity is, because his own Bishop is as it were the Archdeacons spirituall Father, and it is not Convenient that the Son should have any manner of Authority over the Father. Now since it is certaine, that where there is the like reason, there the like Law shall be, I may boldly infer by this Law; that the Scottish Queen offending within her Majesties Dominion, may be punished by her Grace, although she were her farr better.

I might here, before I come unto her voluntary and forcible Resignation of the Crown, tell you, that she committed many things, both before and after her Imprisonment, that made a plaine forfeiture of her Kingdome; But although when I touched the duties of Vassals in some part, I promised to touch the same in this place more largely; yet for brevities sake, I must omit this large discourse, and only tell you, that as the French King called our King *John* in question for the murther committed by him (at his Instigation) on the person of his Nephew *Arthur*, and forfeited his States in *France* for his not Apperance, or insufficient Answer unto that Crime; so if the Scottish Subjects had not deprived their Queen for the Parricide laid to her charge; our Queens most excellent Majestie might not only have taken notice thereof, but also have punished the same. For, albeit the Fact was committed without her Highness Realm and Dominion, yet the person who was murdered being her Subject and Kinsman, her grace might *ex eo capite*, in my simple opinion, lawfully have proceeded against the Malefactor. And I remember that I saw a man executed at *Venice* because he killed his own Wife in *Turky*; and the reason why they proceeded against him, was the hainousness of the Fact, and for that his Wife (although she were not so) was their naturall Subject. And yet I confesse that our Common Laws regard not offences committed without our Realm; wherein we thinketh they have small reason; For, since that for a Bargain made beyond the Seas I may have my remedy here, why shall not have the benefit of Law for my Child and Kinsman, or any other that is near and dear unto me murdered beyond the Seas, since the life of a Subject ought to be of far greater value and worth then his goods? And if in a Civill action, of which the Cause and originall is given beyond the Seas, they can lay the Bond and Obligation to be made at *Lyons*, within some Shire in *England*, when indeed the same *Lyons* which they meane, and where the Bond was made, is in *France*, why may they not lawfully use the like Fiction in a Criminal Cause?

But now the third point that Argueth the late Scottish Queens Inferiority unto our Queen; She was deposed, and therefore no longer a Queen.

This point hath in it two very strange points. It is strange to hear that a Man or a woman being borne a Prince should be deprived; and that he which receiveth a Kingdom by his birth, should lose the same before his death. But because this point hath great affinitie which the third objection that is made against the unfortunate Queens Execution, I will forbear to speak thereof unill I come to that Objection.

Considering

Considering therefore all the premiffes, I may boldly conclude, that notwithstanding our often repeated *Maxime, Par in Parem non habet potestatem*; Her Majesties proceeding against the Scottish Lady was most lawfull. For, although as there is but one Sun and one Moon in the Firmament, so there should be but one king in a kingdome, yet this king may receive another coming into his Dominion (if he will) gentlie, for that is humanity; but let him neither admit him to be his Companion, although he earnestly intreat him; for that were folly; nor to be afraid to punish him if he offend; for that would argue foolish Pusillanimitie.

It is written of *Lewis* the Emperor, that he having taken *Frederick* his Competitor Prisoner in the Wars, took his Oath that he should never affect the Empire any more, nor bear armes against him, and so did set him at Libertie; And he returned into *Austria*, where he lived afterwards quietly; and never molested or troubl'd the Emperor more. Again, it is reported of *Cyrus*, that he having taken King *Astages* Prisoner, Caused him to be kept as a king, and never did him more harm:: And that he likewise shewed the like Clemency unto *Crasus* king of part of *Asia*; Now as these kings were Commended as well by those who lived in their days, as by their Posterity, for their courtesie shewed unto these Captives; So it had greatly rebounded (say the Scottish Queens favourers) unto her Majesties Commendation, if it had pleased her to have preserved the unfortunate Queen; The Spanish king would have thanked her, *France* would have praised her, the *Guisards* would have liked it, and the *Orphan* her Sonne would have taken very it kindly; Whereas now all these are or justly may be highly offended and displeased with her severity

Truly, Compassion and Mercy in a Queen towards a Queen is commendable, and it becometh the Feminine Sex (whose hearts are more tender then Mens) to be kind unto their own kinde; But if this kindness cannot be shewed without manifest danger unto him that shall shew it, I hold it for crueltie rather then clemency to use it; For there is *quadam credulis misericordia*, and sometimes to spare a sinner, is as much as to kill a sinner; and poor pity many times (saith the Proverb) overthroweth a whole city.

Cleomenes flying from king *Antigonus* his wragh and violence, had recourse and refuge unto *Ptolomy* king of *Egypt*, by whom he was courteously entertained, and promised Ayde to help him unto his kingdomes. This Ayde was deferred from day to day; and the longer it was delayed, the greater was *Cleomenes* desire to return into his country; And therefore finding that his courtesious host was so given unto Wine and Drunkenesse that there was small hope to have present helpe from him, he entred into conspiracy with some of his Nobles against him, and thought to have extorted by force, what he could not obtaine by intreaty, but he failed of his purpose; And he that meant to have killed, was killed.

But what if *Ptolomy* had understood his Treason before it was put in practise, and he punished him according to his deserts, who would or could have justly blamed him for repelling Force by Force? who would have been grieved at so unthankfull a Guests death? who would have sought revenge for so ungratefull a person? who, to be short, would have reproved in an other that which he would have done himself, if the like wrong had been offered unto himself? I know that many Prince cannot abide him that giveth such counsell as liketh them not, although it be never so good.

Some cannot endure that any man should presume, to tell them of their faults, and very few can finde in their hearts to pardon him that would take away their lives: In which opinion the more stiffly they dwell, the more reason I give them, because such Lenity would encourage wicked and evil-minded men to intend and procure their final destruction. For if *Cleomenes* had killed *Ptolemy* with impunity, who would not have been animated by his Example to have made the like Attempt, especially against him whose death might yeeld him any manner of benefit? In regard whereof *Ptolemy* examined *Cleomenes* his Treason after his death, and finding him guilty, condemned his memory, and caused his dead carcass to be hanged up to his great dishonour and perpetual infamy. There lived many good and courteous Princes in that age; but none of them reprehended *Ptolemy* his action, because they saw that if they tolerated or allowed *Cleomenes* his Ingratitude and Treason, being such as no man but a most wicked man ever adventured to attempt, none except he had been a very simple fool would have made any conscience or difficulty to have done the like.

Since therefore the Scottish Queen, not onely resembled, but excelled and exceeded *Cleomenes* (for she conspired many times, but he but once against his Host) since she was so neer unto her as *Asiages* was to *Cyrus*, nor could not serve her for so faithfull a Councillor as was *Crasus*; nor in sparing her, she was to regard any mans favour or friendship, as *Lewis* the Emperor did the Love and Amity of *Leopald* the Duke of *Austria*, when he shewed mercy unto his Competitor *Frederick*; why should her Majesty have spared so unthankfull a Guest, so mercilefs a Queen? Should she have feared the King of *Spains* displeasure? It was he that set her on, and animated her in her enterprises; And therefore it had been as much to fear him, as to be afraid to execute a Thief, for fear of his Companion. Should she have born respect unto the *Guilards*? Why she knew their hatred was so great towards her, that she needed not to fear to increase the same, and she had so provided that they should not be able to annoy her. Should she have been afraid of the French Kings displeasure? Why she sent her Process, her Examination, her Arraignment unto him, and found that he rested well and thoroughly satisfied therewith, and he was to reap a great benefit by her death; for he was discharged of the Dower which she had yearly out of *France*. Lastly, should she have stood in fear of her sons displeasure? Why she saw that so long as she lived he could not live in peace, in quiet, in security; and as for his Subjects, they when they deposed her, or rather when they caused her to resigne her Diadem, shewed their minde and affection towards her. The rest of the princes of *Christendom*, some might perhaps marvel for a while at her death, because it was a strange President; others might pity her, because she was a woman, and a Queen; but none will fight for her, because that they which were allied unto her were not able; and they that had no alliance unto her, had no cause to Revenge her death.

The second Objection is fully answered; now followeth the third; a dangerous Question to be handled by a Subject, and yet too boldly discussed by some learned Subjects; for considering we finde many Texts in the Holy Scripture, whereby we are commanded to obey Princes, to be subject unto them, to honour them, to pray for them; since they are called Fathers, and we Children; they Shepherds, and we their Flocks; they Heads, and we their Feet; it is an hard Resolution, and (in my opinion) an heavy sentence that Children should disobey their Parents, a Flock to

The answer to the third Objection.

Rebel against their Shepherd, or the Feet to presume to command and direct the Head.

This question, notwithstanding that it is dangerous and difficult, is largely discussed by *George Buchanan* in his Book *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and also by him who was ashamed to put his name unto the Book that was lately written against the French king. In these two Authors you shall finde every point of this third Objection sufficiently debated: You shall finde the Text alledged out of *St. Paul* in the behalf of Princes, and other places of the Scripture learnedly answered: You shall finde many examples of profane and Ecclesiastical Histories, of Princes that have been done to death. Briefly, you shall finde more to move others perhaps then there is to move me to subscribe to their opinion. For *Buchanan* argueth in such manner, as I may rather commend his subtilty, then his conscience. And he that writeth against the French king, sheweth himself too partial, too malicious, too injurious to Princes: And *Buchanan* giveth too great Authority unto Subjects, and the other too much power unto the Pope. It cannot be denied that Princes received their first Authority from the consent of the people; It is likewise certain, that this Authority was given them to be used to the benefit of the people. And no man will deny that Countries can subsist and stand without kings: But shall every man that receiveth a benefit of another be alwayes subject unto him that once pleased him? Shall either a rude multitude, or a few contentious Rebels judge when a King useth his Authority to the benefit of the people? And because Countries have flourished, and may still flourish without a king, shall therefore every Country reject their king, when they dislike their king? It seemeth that *Buchanan* is of this opinion, because he approveth the death of king *James* the third, and alloweth the approbation that was made thereof by some of the people and Nobility of *Scotland*, who were the principal Actors in the Rebellion against the same king, and the chief Authors of his death.

The causes which moved those Rebels to bear Arms against their King, were but two; The one, that he had made certain base money, and called it not in again at their pleasure. The other that he had advanced certain base Personages unto high places of great credit and dignity; if these two faults might be amended, the Rebels offered to submit themselves to their King. The King yeelded not unto these motions; Why? The History giveth a good reason for the King. They made these demands being in Arms. It seemeth that they would not entreat, but inforce their King; and the King thought it convenient to chastise their insolency and boldness, who presumed to War against him at home, when he and his Kingdom stood in manifest danger of foreign Enemies. There was amongst them, namely the Duke of *Albania*, who affected the kingdom, who to further his Traiterous purposes, had joyned with the King of *England*, against his native Country, and animated his lewd confederates to continue in their obstinate and unlawful demands. They considered not that extreame necessity and want compelled their King to use that money; and when they had taken these base persons from the King for which they seemed to rebel, and had hanged them, contrary to all Law and Equity, they laid not down their Weapons, but followed the poor King, and so followed him that at length they slew him. And why? My Author giveth this reason, Because they knew that they had so highly offended him, that they feared, that if they should have

have spared him (as some better minded then the rest purposed to have done) he would have been revenged of them. This murder, the States of *Scotland* (saith *Buchanan*) allowed, and ordained that no man should be called in question or troubled for the same. But what States are these? Those (saith my Author) that had born Arms against him, and for whose sake he was murdered: And they had good cause to decree that no man should be accused of his death.

But what will some man of *Buchanans* opinion say unto me? Shall Princes do what they list, and no man censure them? Are they not subject unto the Laws? May they not be called to an accompt? Shall the people, from whence they derive their Authority, have no manner of authority over them? And hath it not been always held very dangerous in a State to have any man so mighty that no man may or dare controule him? Truly I allow not that liberty unto Princes, that their pleasure shall stand always for a Law: I limit their Wills unto Reason, I tie their commandments unto the Word of God; I fasten their Decrees unto the Laws of Nature, unto Equity, and unto the Weal of the people. And if these things be not regarded, I take their Laws to be unlawful, their Commandments unjust, their Decrees inique. I know that good Princes are so far from not subjecting themselves unto their Laws, that they suffer themselves and their causes to be tried daily by their Laws. And if any of them, by negligence or wilfulness, by folly or ignorance, by malice or forgetfulness, begin to contemn their Laws, I think it convenient that they should be modestly rebuked, but not utterly rejected; be in a mannerly sort checked, but not violently condemned; be gently admonished, but not straight ways furiously and turbulently punished. Is there no way but down with them, depose them, kill them? Must we cry against the Lords annointed with the Jews, as they did against Christ, *Crucifige, Crucifige*; and not rather learn by the Jews, that the common people is no competent Judge to determine matters of great weight and consequence.

I am not such a stranger in the course of Histories, but that I know that some Princes have been deposed for their insufficiency, as in *France*, *Theodorick*, and *Chilperick*; others for their negligence, as again in *France*, *Lewis* surnamed *Do nothing*; some for poysoning the next Heir of the Crown, as *Martina* Empress of *Constantinople*; others for perjury, and not keeping promise with their Enemies, as *Fustinian* the Son of *Constantine* the Fourth; some for not tending the Weal, and publick Welfare of their Subjects, as *Richard* King of *England*; others for murdering them which reprehended their vices, as *Boleslaus* King of *Polonia*; some for usurping things not belonging unto their Crown, as *Sumberlanus* King of *Bohemia*; others for their extream rigor and cruelty, as *Sigismond* King of *Hungary*; some for their childrens Adultery, as *Tarquine* King of *Rome*; others for Tyranny, as *Archilanus*, Son to *Herod*; some for unreasonable exactions, as *Slaomire* King of *Abredites*; and others for corruption, as *Adolph* the Emperor.

But if all these Depositions were examined and tried by the Touchstone of Law, I think the most part of them will be found scant lawful. For all these crimes in private men, are not capital, and therefore why should they be so severely punished in Princes? How many Judges take Bribes, and are not deposed? How many Magistrates are negligent, and are not punished? How many Officers execute not their Offices and are not removed?

moved? How many rich men offend in Adultery, and are not censured? briefly, How many Noble men commit Adultery and Murther, and are not condemned? In *Poland* the Gentleman that killeth a Yeoman payeth but a certain Fine in money; in *France* he that killeth another manfully and in the field, is seldom executed. In *Italy* many are vilely murdered, and the Murtherers are not always punished. And in all Countries grievous Crimes are either tolerated or pardoned, sometimes because the Malefactors are descended of notable parents, whom Princes are loth to offend and discontent.

You have heard how *Dunorix* was spared, although he were a Traytor, for *Divitiacus* his Brothers sake; and our Chronicles report, that *Henry* the Third, having taken in the Barons Wars many Schollars of *Oxford* in *Northampton*, who did him more harm then all the rest of his Enemies, would have hanged them all, had not his Council perswaded him to save them, because in executing them he might displease their friends, who were Gentlemen and Noblemen of great Houses. Shall mean personages, vile murtherers, private men escape unpunished, and must the Law be executed with all severity upon Princes? They are in higher places, their actions are beheld of all men, and most men are lead by their example. True, but *David* was not punished as soon as he had killed *Uriah*; *Solomon* was not deposed although he kept many Concubines; *Herod* was not streightways deprived for murthering of *John Baptist*; and it was long before *Saul* was removed by *David*.

But how then? May Princes offend as often as they will, and never be punished? No; Must their Subjects endure all their Cruelties and Tyrannies? No; May they be troublesom unto their Neighbours, untrue unto their Confederates, Enemies unto the common peace, and never to be reprehended? No; What course is then to be taken to bridle their Appetites, and restrain their Insolency? Truly I finde two notable Laws for the punishment of such Princes, the one made by *Conrad* the Emperor, and the other by *Otho* the Third.

Conrad his Law commanded all Princes to embrace Peace, to maintain Law and Equity, and not to disturb the quiet and peaceable Estate of the Empire; and that whosoever transgressed in any of these three points, should suffer death.

Otho his Law was much to the same effect; but he added, That the Prince offending in any of these three points, should besides the loss of life, lose all his States and Dominions, and be held for a common enemy; and that all the Princes of Christendom should rise in arms against him, as a perturber of Christian peace and tranquillity.

But in these days Princes neither are, nor will be, nor can be ready to help every one that complaineth; and why should Subjects seek for releif abroad, that may be releived and succoured at home? The course is ordinary, the remedy easie, if men will not deceive themselves in taking their course. Every Country hath its Parliament, every Kingdom the Assembly of their Estates; there may their Grievs be heard, their Wrongs redressed, and their Princes repressed: And in this course the common people loseth not a jot of their Authority; for they which attribute most unto the people, take not every confused, rude, and tumultuous multitude for the people, but a choice company of the wisest Nobility, and of the most grave, honest, discreet and wise men amongst the Commonalty. It must not be such base and
buse

busie companions, as was *Jack Straw* in *England*, *Nicholas Rency* in *Rome*, *Faques Ardevilla* in *Flanders*, *George Zechins* in *Bohemia*, *Anthony Bavarella* in *Spain*, and *William Siler* in *Switzerland*, that must presume to controll mighty Kings, or to alter well governed States: For such petty Companions are better able to mislead a number of simple people with their venomous tongues, then to consider with discretion, that many things are done in every Kingdom which Princes know not of, and that divers abuses are committed, which the Officers that commit them keep, as long as they can possible, from their Princes knowledge; which abuses should be quickly redressed if the king might be made acquainted with them.

These Companions consider not, that there is an High Court of Parliament, unto which Princes either can be contented, or be constrained to submit themselves, and wherein Subjects may speak unto their King freely, so they speak reverently, any thing that may benefit their Country; I said, reverently, because methinks it is not tolerable, that any Subject be he never so great and mighty, should use unreverent speeches unto his King secretly, much less in an open Parliament, as did *Richard Earl Marthal* of *England* unto King *Henry* the third, who when the King called him in choler (and perhaps not without occasion) Traytor, gave him the lye in the Parliament House, and told him to his face he cared not for him because he was well assured, that as long as he lived in obedience unto the Laws of the the Realm, he could not hurt him; And when the king answered, he could intercept his victuals, and suffer no man to bring him any manner of Provision, he replied, that if he sent any to intercept his victuals, he would send them home shorter by the heads then they came. Such an audacious and unreverent speech coming to the ears of such busie Companions as *Jack Straw* and *Jack Cade* were in *England*, would make them take the Speaker for a Demy God, for a Patron of his Country, for a Protector of their Liberty, and being carried from them unto others, may draw them like a company of mad-men, to adventure life and limbs for such a desperate *Cataline*, and without ever considering whereabouts they go, to undertake for his sake the utter subversion of Town and Country.

But it may be said, that I am like the Physitian that prescribeth a remedy unto his Patient, but telleth him not how he shall come by it; so I talk much of a Parliament, but I conceal how difficult it will be to have a Parliament, especially when a Prince, without whose consent and commandment the same cannot be called, knoweth, or mistrusteth that any thing shall be debated and determined therein to his prejudice. I cannot but acknowledge this difficulty, and therefore if the wrongs that are offered be not too great, it is better to suffer them with patience, then to seek to reform them by violence. But if the outrages grow once to be so extream that they are no longer to be endured, I hold the same for a most unfortunate, unhappy, and servile State, wherein the Nobility is either too timorous, or so besotted with the love unto a bad King, that they will not be moved upon the just complaints of the poor and distressed Commonalty, to enforce him to call a Parliament: and in this kind of violence, I require discretion and judgement in the Confederates, lest they mar a good Cause with evil handling thereof, as did *Julius Caesar*, who when he had deserved a triumph, took so violent a course in demanding the same, that his fate was rejected, to his endless dishonour, and his Countries great detriment. Let the Subjects be therefore humble Petitioners unto the Princes to reform such abuses as are notoriously known

known to be abuses. Let them yeeld such measure unto their Kings as they would desire for themselves; let them when neither their humble suits may prevail, nor their gentle connivence or toleration mitigate the wrath, or moderate the affections of their Sovereigns, humbly beseech the Peers of the Realm to be their Patrons and Protectors of their Innocency. Then will he that ruleth Princes, and hath their hearts in his hand, that can prevent their imaginations, and cross their intentions, raise up some better disposed then others, better minded then the common sort of men are, better able then the Commonalty is to judge of wrongs, to redress injuries, and to repress evil-disposed Princes.

All Authority is divided into Ecclesiastical and Temporal; of the one the Pope, of the other the Emperor challengeth superiority; and yet both these Heads, notwithstanding their preheminance, their power and prerogatives, have been reduced to Reason, when they have swerved from all Reason, by those who by Reason were led to challenge Power and Authority over them. For both the Colledge of Cardinals and the States of the Empire have claimed, and according to their claims have used a certain Right both over the Pope and over the Emperor, when the one or the other of them hath been found negligent in their duties; and therefore have presumed that the power of the one and the other hath been devolved unto them. Even when an inferiour Prelate is negligent, the Bishop may assume into his hands all his Jurisdiction and Authority; or when the Bishop is careless in performance of his duty, either the Dean and Chapter or the Arch-bishop may lawfully rebuke his negligence, and reform whatsoever he vouchsafed not to amend; so although the Pope challengeth to be by many degrees higher then all the Princes of *Christendom*, yet divers Cardinals in the time of Pope *Julius* the second, considering that the Church had need of Reformation, as well in the Head, as others Member thereof, implored the aid of the Emperor, and of the King of *France*, and with assurance of their help and assistance caused certain peremptory citations to be set up in *Modena*, *Bologna*, and other Cities of *Italy*, by which they cited the said Pope to appear at a general Council to be he'd at *Pisa*, and to answer to such Articles as should be layed in against him, touching his Simony, negligence, and other abuses not specified in the said Citations; In regard of which faults, and of his Negligence, they affirmed that the Pope was not sufficient and fit to govern the Universal Church of *Christendom*, and that the Power and Authority to call and summon a general Council was lawfully devolved unto them. So although our Kings (as I have said) are the greatest and most absolute Kings of the world, next unto the Kings of *France*; yet the Barons, after the battel of *Lewis*, in the time of *Henry* the third, ordained that two Earls and a Bishop elected by the Commonalty should chose to them nine other persons, whereof three should alwayes remain about the King, and by the whole twelve both the Court and the Realm should be governed. So in the fourth year of the Reign of *Edward* the second, the Prelates, Earls and Barons made Ordinances for the State and Government of the Realm, which because the King would neither confirm, nor allow, were confirmed by sentence of Excommunication against all them that should go to break the same. So the Scotchmen in the time of *John* their King, being moved thereunto by his negligence, chose twelve Peers, and four Bishops, four Earls, and four Barons, by whose advice and counsel the King should Govern the Realm. So to be short, although (as

Bodin reporteth) when a certain Advocate pleading a cause in *France* said, that the Kings of *France* had received their Power and Authority from the Common-people, the Kings Attorney stepped up and requested the Court, that those things might be razed out of his Plea; shewing that the Kings thereof never received any Power or Authority from the common people and required, that both that Advocate and all others might be commanded (as he and they were) never to use the like words in their pleas: yet before and since that time divers Kings of *France* have been censured by the three Estates of their Realm, as it may appear by the examples of those Kings which were (as I have said) deposed in *France*.

Thus it appeareth, that if Princes offend, they may be chastened according to the nature and quality of their offences; and it cannot justly or truly be said, that that is against a Law or without Law which is done by an high Court of Parliament, from whence all or most Laws have their beginning, their foundation, their strength. Neither can this manner of correction embolden Subjects to conspire against the life of their Sovereign. For either the Majesty of their Prince, or the remembrance of their duty towards him, or the fear of punishment, or the danger that followeth Rebellions, or the hope of Reformation by employing the aid of the Peers and Nobility will alwayes restrain their insolency, and keep them within the bounds and limits of true obedience.

But when Subjects are disposed to be rid of their Kings, they may (say the Favourers of the Scottish Queen) implore the aid of Foreign Princes to suppress them.

Whereunto I answer, that if their cause be just and good, I grant it to be lawfull so to do; But if it shall proceed of Malice, and not of Justice; of their desire, and not of their Princes desert; of a rash and foolish dislike, and not of manifest Tyranny or evil Government, there will be no Prince so ill advised as to hear them, much less to succour them, for he that should hearken to such light complaints, and in regard of their molest another King, would undoubtedly by Gods good and just punishment, in time be troubled with the like Subjects himself.

Now whereas it is said, that a Prince coming upon what occasion soever into another Princes Country cannot be put to death without the breach of Humanity and Hospitality. Hereunto I answer briefly, that if such a Prince shall so much forget himself, as, although he be detained for never so unjust a cause, to attempt and conspire by himself or others his death that detaineth him; truly, neither the Laws of Humanity or Hospitality are or can justly be said to be broken, if such a Prince be severely punished; for since he first violateth these Laws himself, he giveth thereby just occasion unto him whose death he seeketh by unlawfull means to use the benefit of Law, for the shortning of so unthankfull a Guests life; especially if before his attempt and conspiracy his detainer always used him gently and courteously.

But it was never seen (say the Scottish Queens friends) that a Prince flying from the violence of her Subjects, or passing by another Princes Realm (as the Scottish Queen did) to go into another Country, was detained prisoner; It is a thing never heard of, never practised in any Age, or by any Prince, were he never so barbarous, never so void of Humanity.

This is a vehement Objection; but not so vehement as ridiculous: For as a private man cannot come upon his neighbours ground without his leave, so Princes may not set their feet on their neighbours Territories without asking them

them leave and license; and the Prince that shall presume to come into another Princes Country without his leave, is thought too indiscreet and unwise, although the occasion of his coming be never so just and lawfull. It is written of *Baldwine* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, that when he being driven from his Imperial Seat, came into *England* to demand aid of our King, the cause of his coming was very just and equitable; but when landed at *Dover*, word was sent him by our King, that he had done unadvisedly and otherwise then it became a king of his Magnificence and Majesty, to adventure to come into our Realm without making them privy before hand to his coming; and because he vouchsafed not to ask leave, it was held for a manifest sign of great pride and contempt.

Was there ever Prince that took a more just and necessary and commendable voyage then *Richard* the first king of *England* did unto the Holy land? Was there ever any journey of which followed better success then of that his voyage? Had ever Prince more just occasion to hope to pass by another Princes Country without danger or detriment then he had? And yet as he returned, although he was disguised in apparel, to the end he might not be known, and pass safely, he was intercepted by *Leopald* Duke of *Austria* and held a long time in prison by him, and afterwards delivered unto the Emperor. And albeit that the Pope and other Princes, considering that he was unlawfully detained, became Mediators and Intercessors for his liberty, yet he could not be delivered before he had endured twenty two moneths imprisonment, and had paid better then one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for his Ransom.

Both our Chronicles and the Scottish Histories report, that *James* son unto *Robert* King of *Scotland*, (when his Uncle being Governor of the Kingdom, had murdered his Elder brother, and purposed to have made him away also) was sent by his father into *France* or into *England*, with letters of recomendation unto both Kings, wherein the poor and distressed Father besought both Kings to have compassion of his wofull and unhappy estate, and to receive and entertain his Son with all kindeness. The young Prince, after that he had been but a small while upon the Seas, not brooking them very well, commanded the Master of the ship to land him in *England*; He is presently brought unto the presence of King *Henry* the first, to whom he shewed his Fathers letters; The King having perused them, called his Council together; they deliberate what were best to do with the Prince; some think it good to send him into *France*; others (whose opinion was followed) perswade the king to detain him as prisoner. I might alledge a number of Examples like unto these two, but they may suffice to refute this frivolous Objection: And the late Queen of Scots might have learned of either these Princes how to have carried her self in the time of her Captivity.

King *Richard* was a valiant, a mighty, and a notable wise Prince. His case was lamented of all the Princes of *Christendom*: His Subjects were both willing and able to have constrained his Detainers to deliver him: His journey was undertaken for the benefit of all *Christendom*; and therefore it behoved all Princes to be offended with his imprisonment. Briefly, neither the Duke nor the Emperor had just occasion to detain him; and yet during the long and tedious time of his durance, he neither sought any unlawfull means to escape out of prison, nor practised any treacherous wayes to be revenged of his Detainers. The Scottish Prince doubtless was to be pittied:

The

The cause of his flight was just and honest, and the detaining of him prisoner wa rather hatefull then honourable; and yet this poor Prince carried himself not onely honestly and faithfully as long as he was prisoner in *England*, but also when our king caused him to attend upon him into *France*, where he might have easily escaped from his keepers, or quickly have procured some violent means to purchase his liberty, he continued still a faithfull prisoner; And was so far (at all times) from seeking revenge for his hard and long imprisonment, that he alwayes thought that he was well and courteously used; and in requital of that courtesie, when as *Henry* the sixth, Son unto the same *Henry* who kept him Prisoner, was driven out his kingdom, he not onely harboured him, but also helped to restore him to his kingdom.

The good carriages of these two Princes condemneth the Scottish Queen; and the general custome of Princes as not onely to crave leave when they come into other Princes Dominions, but also to provide for their safety and security as long as they shall be there, confuteth this foolish, this fond, this ridiculous and childish Objection.

It is written of a King of *Navarre*, that when he had occasion to come into *England*, in the four and fortieth year of *Edward* the Third his reign, not to conspire against us but to intreat a League with us, and to fight for us, he not onely demanded leave, but also durst not adventure to come, before that the King had sent unto his Realm certain Bishops, Earls and Barons to remain as Hostages and Sureties that he should be well used so long as he continued in *England*. And surely Princes have great reason to require such Assurance, since many Kings and Princes have been in great danger to be killed, yea and some have been killed when they met of purpose to talk of Common Affairs: So was *Julius Caesar* in danger to have been in conference with *Ariovistus*; so was *William* Duke of *Normandy* killed in conference with *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*; so was the Duke of *Burgundy* murdered at a meeting with the Dolphin of *France*. And these examples have made Princes more provident and wise then they were wont to be, for that they will hardly be perswaded or intreated to any such Interviews; or if they must needs meet, they cause places to be made of purpose before the meeting, in such manner that they may see and hear one another, but not come so near together that the one may hurt the other.

But Ambassadors are safe in their enemies Countries; why then should Princes be in danger in their Neighbors Dominions? The Answer is very easie, because Ambassadors are not spared either for their own sakes; or for their Masters; but because that without them there would never be an end of Hostility, nor any Peace after Wars. Neither is the name or person of an Ambassador so inviolable either in peace or in the time of War, but that there may be both a convenient time, and a good occasion to punish an Ambassador. For to omit that *Olaus* and *Eneius* killed the Ambassador of *Illacolinus* King of *Scots*, as *Hector Boetius* recordeth; that *Teata* Queen of *Sclavonia* slew a Roman Ambassador, as *Polybius* reporteth; that the *Athenians* caused King *Darius* his Ambassador to be thrown and drowned in a deep Well, as *Herodotus* testifieth; and that *William* King of *Sicily* plucked out the eyes of *Henry Dandelo*, Ambassador unto him from the *Venetians*, as *Illescas* writeth; because these and the like examples are manifest Presidents of barbarous cruelty, rather then of Justice and Equi-

Of Ambassadors

ty; I will shew you by a few examples, that an Ambassador hath been, and may as often as the like occasion happeneth, be lawfully punished or sent out of the Realm wherein he remaineth as an Ambassador.

Titus Livius writeth, that when *Brennus* had found *Quintus Fabius Ambustus* fighting in the Camp of the *Clusians* against him, he sent presently an Herald of Arms unto *Rome*, to demand him to be delivered into his hands, as a Breaker of the Laws of Arms, because that being sent from the *Romans* as Ambassador unto him, he returned not home as soon as he had done his Ambassage, but remained still in the *Clusians* Camp; and because the *Romans* did not deliver unto his Messenger the said *Ambustus*, he left the siege of *Clusus*, and conveyed his invincible Army unto *Rome*, and therewith spoiled and sackt the City.

Adrian the fourth Pope of *Rome*, sent his Chancellor *Rowland*, and Cardinal *Bernard* unto *Fredrick* the Fourth, who used such unreverend speeches unto the Emperor, that the County Palatine of *Vitilsbatch*, not brooking the indignity that was offered unto his Master, drew his sword, and had not the Emperor staid his hand, he had slain the Ambassador in his presence; and the Emperor was so moved with indignation to see his insolent carriage and behaviour, that he presently commanded him to avoid out of his Court, and not to stay so long as to dispatch his necessary business.

The *Romans* when *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* and *Cains Flaminius* were Consuls, delivered *Lucius Martinus* and *Lucius Manlius* into the hands of the *Carthaginians* to be used at their pleasure and discretion, because they had beaten their Ambassadors.

Edward the Second, King of *England*, amongst others sent a French Gentleman Ambassador into *France*, whom the French King (had not the Queen purchased his pardon) had excommunicated as a Traytor, because he presumed to serve his enemy for an Ambassador unto him.

Francis the First, King of *France*, sent *Cesar Fregosus* and *Antony Rincone* Ambassadors unto the Great Turk; *Charles* the Fifth his Soldiers took them upon the River of *Poe* in *Italy*, and presently slew them both: The French King complaineth that they were wrongfully murdered; the Emperor justifieth their death, because the one being a *Genovis*, and the other a *Milanois*, and both in some manner his Subjects, they feared not to serve the French King his enemy.

Henry the Eighth, King of *England*, commanded a French Ambassador to depart presently out of his Realm, for no other occasion but for that he was the professed enemy of the Sea of *Rome*.

The Seigniory of *Venice* understanding that certain Traitors who had revealed their secrets to the Turk, were fled to hide themselves to the French Ambassadors house at *Venice*, sent certain Officers to search the Ambassadors house for them, and when the Ambassador forbade and refused to suffer those Officers to enter into his house, the Senate made no more ado, but sent for certain peeces of great Ordnance out of their Arsenal, whereby they would have beaten down the house, had not the said Ambassador as soon as he saw the same Ordnance, yielded the Traytors to their mercy and discretion.

I might alledge many more Histories to this purpose, but I should be over long and tedious; And yet I may not omit these two following, because they are worthy observation, and make more for my purpose then all the rest.

In

Ambassadors slain

Persons putting
themselves under
protection of
Ambassador seized

In the year 1544 the French King sent certain Ambassadors unto *Charles* the Fifth to *Spires*, sending an Herald of Arms before with Letters unto the Emperor, and unto the Princes Electors, in which he required a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors. The Herald is staid by the Cardinal *Gavilla* and made to deliver him his Letters, and to shew the cause of his coming; further he is commanded to keep his lodging, and that no man should be suffered to speak with him, and within four days he is willed to depart, and take heed that he presume not to come within the Emperors Dominions another time without his leave; he was now pardoned rather of lenity then of desert, because he had broken the Laws of Arms: And as concerning his Letters, it was told him that the King his Master had so deserved of the Emperor, and all the whole state of Christendom, that the Emperor neither could nor would receive them. This answer was given unto him written in French, and certain Soldiers appointed to bring him to the Borders of *France*.

The second example is of a Bishop, who in the year 1302 being sent Ambassador unto the French King from the Pope, practised certain Treasons in *France* against the King, whereof he is accused, arraigned in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, and being found guilty is committed unto prison. But he is delivered out of prison at the Popes request, and both he and the Popes Nuntio are commanded to avoid the Realm. The Pope excommunicateth the King for proceeding thus against his Ambassador; and the King to requite him with the like courtesie, commanded that no more money should be carried out of his Realm to *Rome*.

By these examples I may boldly infer two necessary Consequents, the one, that if Ambassadors fail in their duty, or fall into these follies which I have mentioned, they are either punishable, or may be sent away in disgrace. The other that the Spanish King hath no just cause to be offended with our Queens Majesty for the sending away of *Don Bernardine Mendoza* his last Ambassador in *England*. For although he sought not in any Camp against her Majesty, as did *Ambustus* against *Brennus*, yet he perswaded divers of her Subjects to bear Arms against her; although he used no uncivil and unreverent speeches against her Majesty as the Cardinal *Bernard* did unto the Emperor *Fredrick*, yet he did both backbite and slander her unto her Subjects and unto other Princes; although he did not beat her Ambassadors, as *Martinus* and *Manlius* did the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, yet he did both vilifie and discredit her Ambassadors abroad; spared not to speak evil of her best and wisest Councillors at home; although he was not an Ambassador of a professed enemy to the Sea of *Rome*, as was the French Ambassador residing in *England* in *Henry* the Eighth his time, yet he was an Ambassador of a professed enemy unto her Highness, because he was his Ambassador who was in league with the Sea of *Rome*; Briefly, although he denied not to deliver Traitors unto her Majesty, as the French Ambassador did at *Venice*; yet he not onely received but proctured her many Traitors, and both counselled and encouraged them to commit sundry Treasons against her Majesty.

The premises being therefore duly considered, why might not her Majesty imitate *Charles* the Fifth, who hardly admitted the French King Herald to his presence, because his Master was his professed Enemy? Why might not her Grace command the Spanish Ambassador to depart out of her Realm, since he had lived many years in *England*, not as a Mediator, but as a Per-

turber of a peace; not as a friend to her Estate, but as a debaucher and corrupter of her loyal Subjects; not as one that desired her welfare, but endeavoured to procure her overthrow? Why might not her Highness send him away in peace, who as long as he lived in her Realms, would continually have interrupted her peace? Might the King of *France* arraign and condemn a Bishop for practising Treason against his person? might he commit him to prison, and after his deliverance profess open enmity against the Pope his Master, against the Pope that had, or at leastwise challengeth some authority over him? and might not her Majesty do the like unto a Spanish Gentleman, a meer Lay-man, not so privileged as a Prelate, not so favoured in Law as a Bishop; briefly, not so worthy of favour or compassion as was a Popes Legate, a Legate either equal, or as the days were then, and are in some places yet, not inferior to a Prince? It was *Mendoza* that misled the Scottish Queen; it was he that drew *Francis Throgmorton* into dangerous Treasons; it was he that had secret Intelligence with *Babington* and his Complices; it was he that encouraged *Morgan* and *Paget* abroad; it was he that studied night and day to procure us Enemies at home; Briefly it was he that spared no labour, no money, no expences, whereby he might either openly or secretly endanger our State.

He lived not many months but years in *England* without bringing so much as a Letter from his Majesty unto her Majesty, without performing any Function belonging to an Ambassador: And how lived he? Not in Court, but in the City; not in open view of the World, but in secret corners; not as an Ambassador, but as a Spy. And when was he dismissed? Not so soon as he was found to have committed one action of hostility, but after that he was admonished, not once, but many times, to leave off his Treachery; not when he was suspected, but after that many Traytors had confessed that he was not only privy but principal unto their Treasons. Briefly, how was he dismissed? Not with a crimination and threatning, as was the French Herald, but with fair words and a kindly farewell; not with a Troop of Soldiers to conduct him to Sea side, but with a company of Gentlemen to associate him to the place where he took shipping; not to pass with danger through the Country that hated him for his Treasons, but to be conveyed without danger unto the Country that loved him for his Treachery intended against her Majesty: To be short, not slightly sent away in disgrace, but then commanded to depart, when as his Master would not vouchsafe audience unto a wife and discreet Gentleman sent by her Majesty unto him, to signifie his demeanor and his carriage.

Well, he is gone out of *England*, and whether? Into *France*; And to what place in *France*? To *Paris*: And what to do there? To persevere in his malice against *England*, to confer with the English Traytors personally, with whom he talked before by Letters; to confirm the *Guisards* in their Treasons, to dispose the French Leaguers to favour and further his Majesty against us and our friends: Briefly, so to behave himself, that without him, neither whole *France*, nor rebellious and obstinate *Paris* had held out so long as it did against the late and present French king; for the people of *Paris* are (as a Spanish writer reporteth of them) proud, rich, and rebellious, which humor this Ambassador nourisheth in them; and when they were most hardly besieged, there were five things (as the same Author writeth)

writeth) that made them hold out ; First, The valour and courage of the Duke of *Nemours* Governour of the Town ; Secondly, the presence of the Popes Legate ; Thirdly, the Alms and Liberality of this Embassador ; Fourthly, the perswasions of the Preachers ; Fifthly, the news that were daily sent to the Town by the Duke of *Mayne*, and published by *Mendoza* and other Princes.

Thus it appeareth that he was a notable Instrument of Rebellion, and a fit man to be employed in factious services : For, as God hath deprived him of his sight, and made him blinde ; so he intended to deprive others of their senses, and to blinde their sight and judgement, to the end they might not be able to see and discern the hidden projects of his conspiracies. But of him enough. Now again unto the Queen of Scots.

It appeareth that being culpable, she might be arraigned ; and being found guilty, she might be condemned. But the manner of her arraignment and of her condemnation seemeth very strange unto as many as hear of it ; and is repugnant unto the Laws and Customs of *England*, observed in the Trial of meaner Subjects. It seemeth strange that her Majesty should be a Judge in her own cause, in a matter of Treason ; and especially against a Princess : And of this strangeness many of the Scottish Queens Favourites take such hold, as they hold it for a matter without Example, without any former Presidents.

But if it might please these her Favorers to consider, that although it be a certain rule in Law, that no man shall be a Judge in his own cause, yet the Preheminence, Excellency and Prerogative of Kings and Princes, is, and hath alwayes been such, that they may Judge and determine in any causes that concern themselves. For *Tiberius Caesar* late Judge in his own cause, in dividing certain Inheritances : with him was substituted one *Parthenius*, *Casars* servant. *Marcus Antonius* the Emperor judged that the goods of *Valerius Nepos* were lawfully devolved, and as it were confiscated unto the Exchequer. And *Quintilian* testifieth, that he pleaded a cause for Queen *Berenne*, whereon she her self sat as principal Judge.

What Scholar hath not read the Orations of *M. Tullius Cicero* made in defence of *Quintus Ligarius*, of *Deiotarius*, of *Marcus Marcellus* before *Julius Caesar*, he being the onely Judge and Arbitrator of his own cause ? And it was the custom of the first kings of *Rome* to hear all causes themselves, as well concerning their subjects as themselves, until that *Servius Tullius*, the sixth king, reserved all publick causes for his own audience, and referred his own private matters unto the Senate ; There was nothing so great or so small (saith *Suetonius Tranquillus*) but *Tiberius*, when he began to be weary of managing of publick affairs, referred the same unto his Senators : And so did *Marcus Antonius*, as *Capitolinus* testifieth. But after that Princes began to grow absolute, after that their States became hereditary, and they had established a certain order in Judgement, then began they to have their Judges, who sat as their substitutes, as well in other mens as in their own causes, as *Choppianus* reporteth. And although they appoint such Judges, yet they wrong not their Subjects therein, because both they themselves vouchsafe to swear to see their Laws maintained, and their Judges are sworn to Judge according unto their Laws. But our Queens Majesty was not Judge in the Scottish Queens

Queens cause; It pleased her to make the high Court of Parliament judge thereof. What wrong then was there offered unto her, since she had the same Trial which many Kings of *England* have had? As namely, *Richard* the second and third, and *Henry* the fourth and sixth.

She had not the favour which was shewed unto Subjects or Strangers. She should have had a Jury of Twelve Peers to pass on her, whereof the one half should have been Englishmen, and the other Scots, or other strangers?

This in truth is the usuall and ordinary manner of Tryal for strangers offending within the Queen Dominions: But where should such strangers have been had, but that they would have been partial on the one side, or on the other? what course might have been taken for their coming into *England*? And when they were come, if she had made, as she might have done, any manner of exception against them, had it not been dangerous to stay the coming of others? Had it not been costly to have defrayed their Charges? And who should have borne their charges? The strangers themselves would not have been at the cost. The Scottish Queen was not able to maintain them: And there was no reason to put her Majesty to such charges. It may be that the Spanish King would have been content to have paid their charges. Let it be granted, yea, and those whom he would have sent, would have saved her life, because they durst not displease him, and he must needs have gratified her, because she had (as she confessed) sold unto him her pretensive Right unto the Crown of *England*. Is it likely, that six Peers of our Realm would have spared her, when six and thirty of the chiefest of our Nobility, and of the most discreet Judges and Lawyers of our Realm found her guilty, and the whole Parliament condemned her? In which Parliament, by reason of the Priviledges and Liberties thereof, any man might have spoken more freely, in her defence, then in any other place? And was it not seen, that before she had endeavoured by so many wayes and means as she did, to take away our most gracious Sovereigns life and Scepter, that very mean men presumed to speak for her in the Parliament House, and were heard with all favour and indifferency? And if she had been saved by the Spaniards benefit, would he not have used her to our destruction? And should not we have lived in continual servitude, then which nothing is more grievous unto a good minde, nothing more contrary and repugnant unto the nature and quality of a Prince? May it be thought that that King, who objected unto our Queen, in a most disdainfull and disspightfull manner, that he had saved her life, and that her Majesty was bound unto him for the same, whenas indeed there was no cause why she should have ever have been in danger to lose her life? May it be thought (I say) that he wou'd not have done the like unto the Scottish Queen, if she had not been alwayes at his disposition?

But it was strange that a Prince should be put to death. It was not strange in *Scotland*, where more Kings have been slain and murdered then have died a natural death; where *Alphinus*, not onely King of Scots, but also Heir unto the Kingdom of the Picts, was openly beheaded. It was not strange in *Hungary*, where Queen *Joan* was executed for the murder committed on the person of her Husband.

It was not strange in *France*, where *Bernard* King of *Italy*, and lawful King of *France*, was adjudged and done to death. It was not strange in *Asia*, where *Hercules* slew *Laomedon* for his tyranny and cruelty. It was not strange in *Spain*, where *Henry* the Bastard executed *Peter* the lawful King. It was not strange in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Conrad* rightful King thereof was beheaded. Briefly, it was not strange in the holy Scriptures, where we read that *Joshuah* discomfited five Kings, and hung them all upon trees; that *Saul* was reprehended by *Samuel* for not killing *Agag* King of the *Amalakites*, whom *Samuel* took and hewed in peeces; that *Gideon* slew the Kings of *Midian*, and that *Jehu* slew *Fehoram* King of *Israel*, and *AhaZiah* King of *Judah*.

There is nothing then strange or without example in the execution of the Scottish Queen, unless it be strange that our Queens Majesty was careless of her life, when her Subjects were careful of the same; that she would not hear of her death, when they desired nothing more then her death: That when the Parliament had condemned her, she could not be intreated to subscribe to their Judgment.

Briefly, That when with great labour and many perswasions she was won by her privy Councel and others, who were of opinion that *Vita Maria* would be *Mors Elizabethæ*, as *Vita Conradini* was thought by the Pope to be *Mors Caroli*, to deliver her Warrant to one of her Secretaries for her death, she imprisoned, and grievously fined that Secretary for sending that Warrant with such speed as he did, whereby it seemed, that had not the Warrant been obtained when it was, she would hardly have yeelded to her execution; and by punishing him that was so willing and ready to have her executed, it appeareth that her Majesty not onely loved her whilst she lived, but also after she was dead; and her Highness grave and wise speeches delivered unto her loving Subjects in the Parliament House, do testifie how sorrowful and unwilling her Majesty was to consent unto her death, although it was there made most apparent unto her Grace, that as long as that Queen lived, she could not be without continual danger of losing her life.

This opinion being therefore confirmed to be most true since her death, because there have no such Treasons been either intended or practised against her Majesty since, as before that time; It followeth, that her execution gave the King of *Spain* no just occasion to invade her Highness Realms. The causes then of this invasion are unjust; now followeth the course, a course not befitting a Prince of his might, of his years, of his long continuance and experience in the exercise and administration of a kingdom.

For first, his years are fitter for peace then for war; for rest and quietness, then for troubles and unquietness; and many wise and mighty Princes, either before or as soon as they came to his years, have given over the World; resigned their kingdom, and spent the residue of their time in Monastical idleness. I read that *Sigisbert*, *Etheldred*, *Elured*, *Constantine*, and *Inas* King of *England*; that *Charls* the Fifth, and *Uladislaus* kings of *Bohemia*, *Constantine* king of *Scotland*, and *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, before they came to the Spanish kings age, renounced the world to live unto God in houses of Religion. I record oftentimes the notable exploits, the marvellous victories, and the rare and admirable vertues of *Pompey*, of *Alexander*, of *Antiochus*, of *Theodosius*, and of *Charls* king of *France* (who were all, as
you

you have heard firnamed the Great) and I find that they were all so far off at his age from seeking new occasions of Wars, of new Conquests, that either all, or the most part of them commended their souls unto God, and committed their bodies unto the earth before they attained his years. I remember all this, and in remembring it, I think that it pleased the Almighty to take them out of this world so soon as they were no more fit and able to conquer in the World; thereby giving to understand unto their after-commers, that in their youth they may lawfully attend upon Conquests, upon Arms, upon Wars as occasion shall be presented unto them, but that in their elder age, they ought to have their thoughts, their cogitations, and their eyes fixed upon no other things then upon the conservation of their kingdoms, the wealth of their Subjects, and the health of their own souls: For when private men, much more Princes, attain unto threescore and odd years, it is high time for them to amend their lives, and to reconcile themselves unto God, because their strength faileth them, their vital spirits decay, and the hour of death approacheth.

Here you see one great over-sight in his course; how followeth another. Wise and discreet Princes most commonly before they enter into dangerous and long Wars, appoint and compose the Quarrels and contentions which they have with their Neighbors, or with any other Princes that are able to cross their Enterprises. It is written of *Julius Caesar*, of whose commendations all Histories are plentiful, that when he was fully resolved to war with the *Veyans*, he sent a Gentleman accustomed and acquainted with the natural disposition of those people, to contain the Inhabitants of the River of *Rhine* in their duty and obedience; and to take order that the *Gascoines* should not in any wise help or assist his enemies. The Romans being entreated by the Spaniards, with whom they were in league, to succor them against the Carthaginians, denied them such aid as they demanded, because that the Frenchmen at the same time warred in *Italy*. *Richard* the first, king of *England*, being determined to make a voyage into the Holy Land for relief thereof; and fearing that either the King of Scots or his Brother *John* might at the instigation of the French king, trouble and disquiet his Realm in his absence, would not undertake that journey before he assured unto himself the king of Scots and his Brother by many gifts and rewards; and also bound the French king by vow and oath to attempt nothing against his kingdom, before that fifty days should be expired after his return out of *Syria*. And that victorious king of *France* (who passed triumphantly from the beginning of *Italy* unto the end thereof without striking a stroke) would not adventure to enter into *Italy* before he had made a very fast and strong League of Amity and Friendship with *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain*, and before he had purchased through Bribes and Corruption, the assured friendship of the king of *England*; and had also accommodated and appeased all causes and occasions of contentions and variance betwixt *France* and the Emperor *Maximilian*.

It seemeth the Spanish king either regarded not, or remembered not these examples, because that intending and fully resolving to invade *England*, he made the French king his enemy rather than his friend; from whom he might receive far greater annoyance and disturbance in his intended purpose and enterprise, then from any other Prince in Christendom. But the Catholick kings Councillors perswade him that he and his Confederates are well enough able of themselves; not onely to withstand, but

but also to subdue and subjugate all those Princes which are not in league with him; and that the next way to recover his own patrimony in the Low Countries, was to distress and destroy *England* first; which being once happily effected, he should finde it very easie and nothing at all difficult to master his Subjects; and inforce them by open violence to receive both him and his Religion; he must therefore bend his whole forces against *England*; against *England* that hath highly offended him, and that may easily be subdued, because he shall finde many there, who being weary and discontented with the present Government, will be ready to entertain his Armies, and immediately will joyn their strength with his Forces.

But not to stand long upon the confutation hereof, let these grave Councillors, or these discontented Fugitives, unto whose perswasions both the Spanish King, and his wisest Councillors give too much credit, tell me whether ever any Prince had, or may desire to have a better opportunity, or an easier means to invade and conquer *England*, then *Lewis* Son unto the King of *France* had, who was not onely called into the Realm by the Barons, with a faithful assurance of all the best help and furtherance that they could yeeld him against King *John*, but also was comforted and accompanied with all the good wishes and blessings that the holy Father of *Rome* could bestow upon him; and wanted not the many Forces, and continual Supplies which the mighty Kingdom of *France* was able to afford him: And yet how speeded this valiant *Lewis*? What success had his ambitious Enterprize? Forsooth he prevailed for a time; won to day, and lost to morrow, and in the end was glad to return from whence he came with far greater shame then honour.

But what need I speak of matters beyond mans memory, worn out of remembrance, and reported by ancient Historiographers, when as the success of the late Spanish Fleet may serve to admonish a wise Prince, how to trust the vain reports of lying Fugitives, and how to make great preparations against a mighty Kingdom in hope of assistance within the Realm? Was there any man that gave them succour either of Men or Victuals? Was there ever an Haven that was either able or willing to harbour their Ships, their Ships that needed both harbour and reparations? Was there any friend either within the Country, or nigh unto the Country would bestow a little fresh water upon them, for lack whereof many of their people died? Was there ever a Prince or Potentate, that would suffer them to repair either broken, wind-shaken, or Sea beaten Ships within his Dominion? Briefly, was there any man that would furnish them with Masts, Sails, Cables, and other things necessary, for want whereof most of their Navy perished?

I will tell you a thing which may be strange to others, but no news to you, and yet worthy to be told, because it is meet that it should be known unto all men. When the report was certain in *England* that the Spanish Fleet and Forces were at hand, instead of lamentations, weepings, out-cries (which things in time of sudden accidents are common, and even used amongst valiant people) the Queens Majesties ears were filled with Prayers, Petitions, and Motions, sometimes of one Shire, sometimes of another, most humbly beseeching her Highness to give the Spaniards liberty to land with their Forces, and them

leave to encounter with them alone. I my self do marvel, and I think as many as shall hear it will marvel thereat, that in men of one and the same Religion, there should be divers opinions, and different Judgements in matters concerning the advancement of their Religion; Yet I know, and you shall understand, that the English Catholicks which are out of *England*, and those that live within the same Realm, were not all of one opinion, of one minde, when the Spaniards were coming for *England*; for the one sort wished them all manner of happiness and prosperity; and the other prayed to God not to prosper their journey, much less their Attempt, and besought the Queens Majesty to place them in the foremost Range and Ranc against the Spaniards, and where they might endanger themselves most, and do her Highness most service; not because they were weary of their lives, but for that they thought it most honorable to die in the defence of their Country, and that God would never forsake them in so just a cause.

This may serve to shew that the Spaniards had, and may have very small hope to finde any manner of aid within *England*. And yet to clear this point the better, may it please you to remember, that when the report of the Spaniards coming began to be certain, all those which we call Papists, and our Adversaries term Catholicks, at least the better sort of them, were conveyed to several houses far distant the one from the other, and there kept, not like Prisoners, but like Gentlemen of their calling, and all the Nobility was commanded to repair to the Court; of which commandment their followed two commodities: The one, That the Catholicks being under safe custody, there was no man of account to sollicite the Subjects to Rebellion; the other, that if any small or great number had been disposed to rebell, there was not any man of worth to be their Head; And it hath seldom been seen that Rebels ever durst adventure to shew their evil inclination; or adventuring, had at any time good success, without having some man of special accompt and authority for their head.

But *Ireland* and *Scotland* may be thought to favour the Spanish King, and undoubtedly he hath been made believe, that in either of those Realms he shall finde faithful friends, and such as will adventure their lives to do him service. Truly *Ireland* hath been a long time subject to the Crown of *England*, but always divided into two Factions; the one of civil and discreet people, the other of wilde and savage men; the first sort, true and faithful Subjects unto their Sovereign, and the other prone and ready to spurn against their Superiors, but not able to do any great hurt, no more then the *Banditti* of *Italy*, which may rob a house, spoil a little Village, and set fire on a Castle, and run away by the light when they have done; and yet to be sure that no great annoyance should come from *Ireland* to *England*, the best part of the Nobility of the Country was likewise called to the Court; the strongest Holds were committed to the custody of faithful keepers; and to hold them in better obedience, there was sent over such a Lord Deputy as was well acquainted with their Customs practised in the Country, and very well beloved of the people.

As for *Scotland*, although the Kings thereof have always been for these many hundred years in firm league and amity with the Kings of

France

France, and of late years have had some occasion of extraordinary great love and friendship with the house of *Guise* (the House that hath been, as you have heard, the onely upholder and maintainer of the Spanish Faction in France) yet because the present King of Scotland hath been nourished up from his infancy in the same Religion which the Queen of England professeth; and for that he is bound unto her Highness for divers favors and courtesies shewed unto him in the time of his distress and necessity, he is very well affected unto the State of England, and desireth nothing more then the welfare of that Country, the health and safety of the Queens Majesty, and the reign and overthrow of all her Enemies; which desire he signified unto her Majesty at such time as she thought she stood in need of his help, offering to come in person to aid her Grace against the Spainards with the greatest power he was able to make.

The *Venetians* brag of the strength of their City, because it is distant five miles from any land, and defended by a little natural Bank from the violence of the Sea: How may England therefore boast of her strength, since she is severed above thirty miles at the least from any other Nation, not by a little Bank, but by a great Sea; especially if *Ireland* and *Scotland* be under her subjection, and in League with her; and also if the Maritime forces of the United Provinces be always ready to joyn with her against all her enemies? It is not the happy success of one Battel, nor the mighty or innumerable forces of one Army, that must or can subdue England; But he that will undertake to conquer our Realm, must first overthrow our invincible Navy, and then encounter with our strengths by Land, and not obtain one onely, but many Victories against them; a matter in my simple conceit almost impossible, especially for the King of Spain. For besides that Fortune is seldom or never so constant or prodigal of her favours, that she vouchsafeth unto any man any long continuance of desired happiness; this impossibility will easily appear unto him that shall call to remembrance what hath been already said touching the Forces of England and Spain.

But the *Romans* first, then the *Danes*, next *William* the Conqueror; Lastly, Divers English Princes pretending right unto the Crown of England, have with very small difficulty, and with no great Armies subdued the same; and why may not the like fortune happen to the Spainard? Truly, if it might be inferred as a necessary consequent, that the Country that hath been conquered many times, and by many Nations, should always be very easily conquered; This inference might be far better made and used against Spain, then against England. For Spain was first governed by *Tubal* the Son of *Japheth*, the Son of *Noe*, and by his posterity, who were deprived of the Possession and Government thereof by the *Sidonians*, and they by the *Thracians*; and they by the *Rhodians*, and they by the *Phrygians*, and they by the *Phenicians*, and they by the *Cypriots*, and they by the *Egyptians*, and they by the *Miletians*, and they by the *Phoenicians*, and they by the *Chaldeans*, and they by the *Carthaginians*, and they by the *Romans*, and they by the *Goths*, and they by the *Vice-Goths*, and they lastly by the *Spainards*, whom the *Sarazens* had driven out of their Country, had not the Frenchmen holpen them to repel and expel the *Sarazens*.

England was undoubtedly subdued by the Romans, but not before they had conquered all the rest of the World; because they reserved (as it may be well supposed) the conquest thereof (as Conquerors most commonly do in great Enterprises) for the last and greatest Exploit which they had to do, or for the best reward that they could attain or expect of their long and tedious Wars. And it is written that they boasted more of the Conquest thereof, than of all the Victories which they had obtained in their dayes, because they supposed that *England* which was divided from the rest of the World by the Sea, was no part of the World; and therefore they made two Triumphs thereof; the one of the main Land, and the other of the huge and mercilefs Sea.

The *Danes* and *Saxons* likewise subdued *England*, but they enjoyed their Conquest but a very few years; And how subdued they *England*? Not by main force (as *Spain* was always conquered) but by cunning and deceit; for *Vortiger* King of *England*, being continually molested by Pirates, and by the *Scots*, was constrained to require Aid of the *Saxons*, who sent him a great Army under the Conduct of two Brethren, *Engistus* and *Orsus*; of which, *Engistus* having cunningly obtained of the King a convenient place for his people to dwell in, fortified the same secretly, got more thereunto covertly, politickly perswaded the King to send for more forces out of *Saxony*; and lastly, Married his Daughter unto the King, by whose means he brought his Countrymen in great credit with his Majesty, made him banish the chief Nobility from the Court, caused the King by this means to incur the hatred of his Subjects; and when he perceived that our Country-men began to suspect and fear his over-growing Greatness, he suddenly entred into league with the *Picts*, the Ancient Enemies of *England*, and with their helps made an easie conquest thereof.

William the Conqueror became Master of *England* in this manner; *Edward* King of *England* dying in the year 1065. made by his last Will and Testament, *William* Duke of *Normandy* his sole and lawful Heir, with the consent and counsel of the chief Peers and Barons of his Realm; But afterwards, being wone thereunto by the flattery and sweet words of his Wife, he changed his maid, and adopted *Harrold* his Brother for his Heir; whereupon there grew a great variance and contention betwixt the said *William* and *Harrold*; who having some occasion to go into *Flanders*, was by contrary winds driven into *Normandy*, where he was presently intercepted and carried unto the Duke as a Prisoner; before whom, when he came, fearing that he should not be set at liberty in a long time, nor without a great Ranfom, unlesse he used some cunning device for his present delivery; He said unto the Duke; Other Princes (Noble Duke) when they have occasion to require Helps or any thing else of their Neighbours or Confederates, use to demand the same by their Ambassadors; But I, contrary to this Custom, knowing that there is no better way to end this contention and competency which is betwixt you and me, then for me to marry your Daughter, am come in person to pray your good Will, that I may have her for my Wife.

The Duke yeeldeth to his desire; *Harrold* with his new Spouse returneth

turneth speedily into *England*, commandeth all Normans upon pain of death to depart out off his Realm within three dayes, prostituteth his wife unto his meanest servants, cutteth of her nose and her ears, and sendeth her back unto her Father in a Fisher-mans Boat. This Injury and Indignity may seem grievous unto you that hear it; No marvel then if it so grieved her poor Father, that to be revenged thereof he presently implored the help of his Friends; who what for pity of the distressed Princess, what in hope of high rewards, what in regard of the love and duty that some bare unto the Duke, were so many, that the greatest part of the Nobility of *France*, with all the power that they could possibly make, accompanied him in his journey.

But from him unto those kings of *England*, who being driven from their Kingdoms, recovered the same with small difficulty. And not to be over tedious, it shall suffice to mention unto you but two Princes of that kinde, namely *Edward* the fourth, and *Henry* the seventh.

And first to *Edward*, who being deprived by his own Subjects of his Royal Diadem, fled unto the Duke of *Bugundy*, of whom obtaining an Army but of two thousand men onely, he returned into *England*, and finding that very few favoured him, so long as he demanded the Crown, he caused it to be proclaimed and published, that he required nothing but the Dukedom of *York*, whereunto every man knowing that he had Right, many began to favour him, and no man at his first landing in *Yorkshire* would resist him; and yet he was not received into the City of *York*, before that he had sworn faith and obedience unto the King.

This Oath being solemnly taken, he goeth forward towards *London*; Some few of his Friends came unto him upon the-way. The *Earl* of *Warwick* his Brother, who was incamped neer about *York* to intercept him on the way, either for fear, or through ignorance, suffereth him to proceed on his journey, and so without so much as one stroke he came to *London*, where he was received by the Citizens with great joy and gladness, because divers of the richest sort, doubting that they should never have again such sums of money, as they had lent him while he was their king, unless he recovered the Kingdom, had purchased him the favour and friendship of the greatest part of the City; of which being once Master, he increased daily in power and strength; and his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, and others, leaving the *Earl* of *Warwick* and his Faction, made him so strong that he daily subdued the rest of his Enemies. Thus prevailed he.

Now from him unto *Henry* the seventh, who living a long time as a banished man in *Brittany* with the Duke thereof, could never be sent into his Country unto *Edward* the fourth, or *Richard* the third, although both of them, knowing that that they could not Reign in security so long as he lived, had requested him very earnestly of the Duke; And the last of them ruled still in great fear, but in Peace and Quietness, untill that *Isabella*, wife of *Edward* the fourth, and *Margaret* the said *Henries* Mother, by the help of a Physitian came to conferre together, and in the end they concluded of this agreement, that they would cause her Son, the said

Henry

Henry to return into *England*, and to possess the Crown thereof, with the help of his aid and their friends, if he would take to wife the daughter of *Edward* the fourth. *Henry* being certified hereof, and also given to understand, that *Richard Thomas*, a man trained up in arms all the dayes of his life, and *Sir John Savage* would adventure their lives for him, and that the Lord *Bray* had provided great sums of money to pay his Souldiers withal, easily obtained of the king of *France* a small Army of 2000 men, with which arriving in *Wales*, and joyning with the Forces of the said *Thomas*, he went towards *London*: and upon his way daily received greater strength, even of the Souldiers of king *Richard*, his Enemy, who by reason of the great cruelty and Tyranny which he used, was forsaken of his own Friends; and his Souldiers detesting his proud and cruel Government, fought so in his behalf, that they seemed more desirous he should lose then win the Field; which fell out according to their desire.

By these Examples and others like unto these, you may perceive that never any man had any good success against *England*, who had not both a just cause to invade the same, and a strong faction within the Realm. And by that which hath been spoken you may understand that the Spaniard wanteth both the one and the other.

Here might I conveniently (if I had not sufficiently declared the strength of *England*, to make the difficulty and impossibility of the Spaniards purpose more apparent) enter into a large discourse of the Forces thereof; but let that suffice that hath been spoken. And yet I may not forget to let you, and as many as doubt of our strength, understand that we have been (and I know not why we should not still be) so strong and fortunate, that when the French were so many in the Field against us, that they thought the very Boyes and Lacques in their Camp were able to subdue our Army; and when the Scots, thinking that because our king was in *France* with fourscore thousand English, we had none but Priests and women left at home to encounter with them, entred with main force into our Country, and with assured hope and confidence to conquer the same, we neither fearing the multitudes of the French, nor being danted or terrified with the Scots suddain and advantagious Invasion, subdued both Nations, and took both their kings prisoners in the Field.

But our Englishmen cannot live with a little Bread and a Cup of Wine, as the Spaniards can do; they are not accustomed to endure cold, to lie abroad in the Field, to stand up to the knees in dirt and water, to watch nights and dayes, and briefly to take other such pains and travels as are incident unto wars.

To pleasure our Adversaries, let us grant this to be so (although the contrary indeed is most true) who amongst the bravest Spaniards, or the greatest Souldiers in the World would willingly go to the wars, if he should alwayes be subject unto these or the like incommodities? And yet who would not rather endure, and suffer them patiently, then live in servitude or thaldom, or yeeld unto his mortal Enemies? All Histories are full of examples of base and faint-hearted people, the which having been compelled to fight for their lives, because there was no other way to save or redeem the same, have behaved themselves most manfully

fully, and have enforced their Enemies to yeeld unto reasonable Conditions of Peace, which sometimes would not hearken unto any agreement, and have constrained them to become humble Sutors, who would not once vouchsafe to hear their humble Petitions; and truly extream perils and irresistible necessities have such force and verue, that oftentimes they put both heart and courage into them which by nature are neither hearty nor courageous. Considering therefore that our men shall fight at home, and the Spaniard abroad; that we will be as valiant to defend our selves, as they can be courageous to offend us; that when they have soiled us by Sea, they must fight afresh with us by Land; they being weary, and we fresh; they weak, and we strong; they lame and diseased, and we whole and in perfect health; Briefly, they far from home, and we at home, for our wives, for our houses, for our children, and for our goods; Is it not likely that we should fight with greater courage, with better success then they? Considering again that *England* is fertile, and replenished with all things necessary for mans sustentation; That her Majesties Councillors are wise and provident; her people rich and full of money, her Subjects loving and well affected to her Highness and their Country; Can there be any thing wanting that shall be needfull for the maintenance of a convenient Army? Considering thirdly, that if any want shall fall out, their cause being general, as the maintenance of the Spaniards Religion is universal and common to all his Confederates; is it not to be thought that the Princes Protestants will supply those wants, and fight for *England*, as well and as willingly, as the Papists will for *Spain*? Considering fourthly, that when *Charles* the fifth, a Prince (as I have said) of greater power and of better experience then the Spanish king, warred with the Protestants of *Germany*, not onely the Princes of the Reformed Religion, but also the French (which hated their Religion) aided and assisted them; Can it be supposed that *England* should not finde the like aid and assistance?

Briefly, Considering that the Spaniard cannot land his Army in any place in *England*, where he shall not finde at the least ten thousand men, to finde him work until a greater power come; what hope can he then have to Land without Resistance, to proceed without a Battel, to fight without loss, and to lose without extream confusion?

Our Armies therefore being equal to his, and our hope more assured then his, no wise or Politick man will doubt, but that our success is likely to be far better then his, and therefore his hope and expectation vain, his purpose and intention ridiculous, as well in regard of his course taken therein, as of his possibility to attain thereunto. But it behooveth a king to bridle and correct his Rebellious subjects; and it is the part of a Protector of the Catholicks, not to permit his own subjects, or any other aiding or assisting them in the maintenance of their Errors and Heresies, to profess a contrary Religion unto his, especially when he is able to suppress them and their Patrons. This supposed Ability emboldeneth the Spaniard, and his confidence must be shewn to be as foolish, as other of his vain hopes, of his rash conceits.

First

First therefore I will make it appear, that he is not able to enforce any general alteration in Religion; Then, that though he could, yet he should not compell his Subjects by force and violence to change and alter their opinions.

There is nothing (as I have said) more common then to judge of things to come by things that are past, and to conjecture what a Prince can do, by that which his Predecessors did, and were able to do before him: And therefore to clear this question, it shall not be amiss to consider what the Spanish kings Father did, and was able to do, during the long time of his Reign, against *Luther* and his followers; and if it shall appear that he with all his might, his Friends, his Allies, could not suppress the Princes Protestants at their first beginning, and when neither the number, nor the power was so great as it is now; It must needs follow, as a necessary consequent, that the Spaniard with all his Adherents shall never be able to enforce a general alteration and change in Religion.

At what time *Martin Luther* began first to discover the Abuses, Errors, and Heresies of Papistry, Pope *Leo* the tenth of that name, thinking it convenient to withstand an Evil at the beginning thereof, and knowing that if *Luther* were suffered, great danger and many inconveniences would follow thereof, he Excommunicated his person, condemned his opinions, and intreated the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to ratifie his condemnation in a general Assembly, held in *Germany*, and to command all his Subjects to take him prisoner wheresoever they should finde him: But what was the end and issue of this rigorous Sentence? Did the Almighty suffer it to be put in execution? No, but he so crossed the Pope, and the Emperor therein, that neither their Counsel nor their condemnation took effect. About twenty three years after, this sentence was published; and although that the Advancement of *Luthers* Doctrine depended onely upon his life, and that it was a matter of no great difficulty to supplant him, and to suppress his discipline; yet it pleased God (meaning to shew thereby, that it lieth not in mans power to Prevent, much less to Cross his resolute intent and purpose, not to permit any manner of prejudice to grow unto the Reformed Religion by the same Excommunication: For he presently troubled the Emperor, and busied him with a sudden and unexpected occasion of wars; which gave unto the Protestants sufficient time and opportunity to strengthen themselves against their Enemies. Not long after the Emperor, to subvert *Luther* and all that followed him, entred into League with *Francis* the first King of *France*; and they agreed not onely to imploy all their own Forces, but also to implore the aid and assistance of the Pope, and of all others of his profession, against the Princes Protestants.

This undoubtedly was a great conspiracy, not onely intended, but also very like to be executed, by two mighty Princes, had not the Almighty hindred the accomplishment of their designs and purposes, by breaking the bond of their League and Amity, and by sending a suddain occasion of Wars betwixt them. But as after Rain there follows fair weather, so after those Wars succeeded a friendly Peace, in the Articles whereof the Emperour and the said *Francis* covenanted, that they should joyntly, and with all the Forces they could

could possibly make War against the Protestants, and use the Popes *Cruciades* in these Wars, even as Christian Princes were and are wont to do, when they wage War against the Turk. Besides, the Emperor made a Proclamation, that all *Lutherans* should either convince and prove their Doctrine to be answerable unto the Word of God, or else leave and forsake the same within the space of five moneths; And the Pope at the Emperors Coronation, gave him great charge to see the same Proclamation duly executed. The Protestants had never greater occasion to be afraid then they had at that time, when the Emperor was so bent, and so many Princes joyned with him against them. But whether it were because the Protestants, during the time of the War betwixt the Emperor and the King of *France*, grew so strong that their Enemies feared them; or because the Lord of Hosts, who never faileth his people, had undertaken to protect them; nor because that the true and holy Religion of the immortal God increaseth daily, notwithstanding the Threats and Menaces of mortal men, this alliance and confederacy availed *Cesar* nothing at all; but it pleased God so to abate his pride, and humble him, that when he purposed most of all to hurt and annoy the Protestants, he was constrained to crave their Aid against the Turk, who with a mighty and terrible Army invaded *Austria*, and had undoubtedly endangered the Emperor, had not the Princes of our Religion assisted him, and God so disposed his heart, that to make the Protestants more willing to help, he most willingly and of himself, without any manner of intercession and intreaty, so mitigated the rigor and extremity of his former Proclamation that through his lenity and sufferance our Religion began to receive great increase.

For, as Dogs, although they bark and bite one another, yet as soon as they see and discover the Wolf, they agree presently. And as when fire taketh hold of an house, of which the Master and Family are at variance, they forget their private contentions, their hatred, and their quarrels, and run with one consent and mind together to extinguish the fire: And as in a great Tempest, the Master and Mariners of a Ship, who before the Tempest were at mortall feud amongst themselves, become friends, and endeavor by all means possible to save their Ship, least they all perish together with their Ship:

So the Protestants, seeing there was no Wolfe more cruel, no fire more terrible, no Tempest more dangerous then the Turk, submitted themselves with all humility unto the Emperor, and aided him with all their power against the Turk.

In regard of which, his Majesty used them most courteously, and yielded much more unto them then they hoped to obtain of him: And because his Highness found a rare Loyalty, a strange constancy, and a marvellous affection in them, he vouchsafed to afford them all kind of courtesie, until that after that he returned from *Tunis*, where he had got a notable Victory, the Catholick Princes bearing themselves bold in regard of that fortunate, and happy Success, began to brave, contemn, and despise the Protestants, and to threaten them that the Emperor should not keep the Peace of *Norimberge*, nor of *Restubant*: Of which insolency the Princes Protestants complained unto his Majesty, who answered them most lovingly, and assured them that he desired to end and compose all contentions and Controversies that were in *Germany* for Religion, not by

force and violence, but by fair means and gentleness, praying them to have such an opinion of him, and not to be moved with the threats and menaces of their Adversaries: This Answer was given unto them, when the Emperor was leading his Forces unto *Marcellus* in *France*, against the King thereof; with whom, as soon as he was reconciled, the Catholics thinking that he had but dissembled with the Protestants but for a time, hoping that he would bend his whole Forces against the *Lutherans*. But he deceived them all, and went into *Spain*, from whence he sent an Honourable Ambassage into *Germany*, to let the Protestants and all others understand, that he would be very glad that all Contentions, Debates, and Controversies touching Religion, should receive a final end and agreement by a General Assembly and Disputation of learned Divines, so the end that the right and true Doctrine of Jesus Christ being by that means laid open and discovered, he might establish and confirm the same with his Imperial power and authority.

It happened not long after, that the Emperor had an occasion to pass through *France* into *Flanders*; then the Enemies of the Reformed Religion began to promise to themselves great wonders, and to conceive an assured hope of an invincible power to be levied by the Emperor and the King of *France* against the Protestants, for, that then the two chief Protectors of their Catholick Faith, were thoroughly reconciled, and were equally bent against *Luther* and his Followers; and their conceits prove to be most vain; and of that Journey followed no good success for them: For the Emperor, either because he would be still mindful of his promise; or for that he knew that the Protestants strength increased daily, caused a General Diet to be Assembled; wherein, although he was daily entreated by the Catholics to declare open Wars against the Protestants, yet he would never take that violent course, but ordered, that shortly after there should be a general Assembly, in which the cause of Religion might be freely and lovingly decided by learned Divines; who having lightly discussed some Points of Controversie, were commanded by his Majesty to come to *Ratisbone*; Where when as all Contentions could not be fully ended, his Majesty was contented to refer the final Conclusion unto another General Assembly; of which the success and event was so well known, that I shall not need to acquaint you with the particulars thereof.

Now considering the Reasons, Varieties and Circumstances of all that hath been said, what may a man judge thereof, but that the Almighty prevented, crossed and hindered the determinations, purposes, and Enterprises of the Emperor, and so guided and directed them, that it lay not in their power to confound the Protestants by force of Arms; For, if we shall consider the great strength of the Catholick Princes, as well in Foot as in Horse, the number of their Souldiers, the multitude of their Provisions, the greatness of their Treasure, the vehemency of their hatred, the wilfulness of their perseverance therein, their courage, their animating and provoking the Emperor against the Protestants, and how to win him thereunto, they spared no kind of policy, cunning and deceit that humane wit could invent; and that notwithstanding all their utmost endeavors, they were then so far from attaining their purpose, that in the very last Diet that was held, certain points of Doctrine were yielded unto, which before that Assembly both the Emperor, and his best Divines,

Divines, held to be most erroneous. It must needs be confessed that it was Gods pleasure so to dispose and govern the hearts of those Princes; for in that Diet many opinions were received and allowed for good and godly, for the maintenance whereof many Protestants had lost their goods, their Countries, and their lives.

The Catholicks therefore, seeing that they prevailed not greatly by force and violence, they cast off the Lyons skin, and put on the Foxes, whom they counterfeited so well, that they brought the Protestants into disgrace, by sowing false Rumors and Accusations against them; And because they had rather lost much, then gotten any thing by disputing with them, they caused it to be bruited abroad that the Protestants durst no longer dispute with them, and they gave liberty unto all sorts of people, without any regard of learning or modesty, to raile upon *Luther*, and to write malicious and false Invectives against him:

A strange course, and too much used in these dayes! but in my simple opinion, a course not now like to have better success then that course then had: For, as *Luther*, when he saw that it was lawfull for every man to exercise the bitterness of his pen against him, conceived such malice against the Pope, that he discovered many of his follies, which might have lien hidden unto this day: Even so it is greatly to be feared, if men having more Zeal then Learning, of greater Malice then Judgement, shall be suffered to preach and write against the foolish impugnors of our Ecclesiastical Discipline, that either their Malice or their Ignorance will utterly disgrace the same, because preaching by preaching may unhappily be disgraced, and a few turbulent and unquiet spirits may with a small Pamphlet, or with a simple Sermon do more harm then a number of learned men shall be able to amend or reform with great pains and travel.

Had not the Pope given too great encouragement to such as wrote against *Luther*, Had not rude and ignorant men been suffered bitterly to inveigh against his Doctrine, Had not certain malicious persons laboured to disgrace him with the Pope and the Emperor, Had he not been condemned before he was heard: Briefly, had not his Books been unjustly adjudged to the fire, he had never appealed from the Pope unto a General Council; he had never laboured so much as he did in searching out, and laying open the Popes Errors; He had never made so bitter Invectives as he wrote against the Pope and his Bishops; He had never impugned the Pope and his General Councils Authority; He had never implored the Duke of *Saxony* and other Princes help and countenance; He had never procured the Popes Canons to be burned; Briefly, he had never written a Book against the Catholicks Reformation; so many things might and should still have remained, as it were buried in obscurity, which are now brought to light, and made known and palpable to very Babes and Infants.

They therefore (in my simple conceit) did not a little hurt and prejudice unto the Papists and their Cause, who perswaded the Pope and Emperor to make wars against *Luther* and his Adherents. For since that time many other Nations besides *Germany* are fallen from their obedience to the Pope, and from their good liking of his Religion

Quo semel
est imbuta
recens,
Ecc.

ligion, and so many and divers opinions are now crept into mens hearts, that I take it a thing almost impossible to reconcile those diversities. For such is the nature of man that we hardly change our opinions; and yet when we have changed, we stand stiff and obstinate in our new and late received conceits, and are very hardly removed from them; Insomuch that whatsoever the Childe receiveth from his Father, or whatsoever the Grandfather teacheth the Grandchildren, that seemeth to be irremovable, and subject to no kinde of alteration.

A man may therefore boldly say, yea swear, that the *Spaniard* (let him try all the means he can possible) shall never inforce a general change in Religion. For since his Father (whose power although he should surpass, yet he shall never match him in good fortune) could not constrain the Protestants (in the very infancy of Religion) to return unto his profession; is it credible that the Son should ever be able to compel far and remote Nations, mighty and great Princes, manly and warlike people, which of late years have forsaken Popery, to reassume their old opinions?

But if any man think him great, sufficient, and mighty enough to effect his desire; let that man consider, how many, how noble, and how learned men the cruel War of *Charls* the Fifth against the Protestants in *Germany*, the most barbarous cruelty of *Francis* the First against them in *France*, the bloody five years persecution of *Queen Mary* in *England*, the Spanish Kings terrible and horrible Inquisition in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*; lastly, the most execrable and hateful Massacre of *Paris*, hath sent headlong, and before their times unto another World: And when he hath considered all these, let him likewise remember, that the more these Tyrants murdered, the more the Protestants (as though others sprang out of their blood) encreased daily.

Sanguis
Martyrum
semen Ec-
clesia.

If all these shall not content and satisfie him, let him call to mind how many years the Wars continued in *France* and *Flanders* for Religion, with far greater obstinacy then with good success and happiness.

Lastly, Let that man weigh with himself how unlikely a thing it is for the *Spaniard* to prevail against so many Nations, who in almost Thirty years continuance, hath not been able to replant his own Religion in a few Provinces of one Nation: Besides the rare success, and the wondrous events that have alwayes followed the Protestants, make me beleeve that their Cause is a good Cause; and whosoever so beleeveth, must likewise beleeve, that were their number smaller, their Forces weaker, their experience far more slender then it is; yet God that can win with a few as well as with many, with the weak as well as with the strong, will not onely protect them, but also confound their Adversaries. How many examples find we in prophane Histories, which record that small troops have oftentimes subdued great Armies, and that mighty Kings have been put to flight by weak Princes? How can wethen but think, that the Protestants who are Gods Souldiers, who fight in his Cause, and are defended by his Forces, are able to beard the proud *Spainard*; yea, to brave and

and foil all his Confederates? It is no small comfort to have God on our side. It is a great Consolation to fight in a good cause. And who can desire better advantage then to contend with an Adversary, that beginneth to decline, that is ready of himself to fall? And is not the Pope and his Kingdom in this case? Have not many Nations (as I said said) long since shaken off the intolerable burthen of his grievous yoke and bondage? And do not all States, when they begin once to decline, sooner fall from the half way towards the end, and to their utter destruction, then from the beginning of their first declination unto the midst of their downfall? Shall not those then that seek to defend Popery, do even as a Physician doth, when he laboureth to preserve a very weak and old man from the danger of death? Hath not *St. Paul* said, that Antichrist shall perish as soon as he beginneth to be known? And if God by the mouth of *St. Paul*, hath pronounced this Judgement, this Sentence against him; who either can or will be able to prevent or hinder the execution thereof? He is now no more able to encounter with *Henries*, *Othons* and *Fredericks*, great and mighty Emperors: He hath no more Kings of *France* to fight in his quarrels; No more Kings of *England* to be Defenders of his Faith; No more Switzers to be Protectors of his Church; all these have forsaken him, and by Example of these, many other Princes have learned not to set a Fig by him.

Thus the First point is cleared; now it remaineth to clear the second, and to make it appear that the Spaniard, although he could, yet he should not constrain his Subjects by force of Armes to change their Religion. This point, although it hath been already touched in some manner, yet it was not so sufficiently handled, but that it needeth a more ample Declaration.

For the better understanding therefore of this Question, you shall understand that the Common people (which are Princes Subjects) never did; and particular men, although they change their lives, yet they leave most commonly behinde them their posterity and their Children, which succeed them not onely in their Lands and Inheritances, but also in their quarrels and affections; Insomuch that there dieth scant any man so bad, so wicked, so unbeloved, but that he leaveth behinde him, either children, kinsmen, or friends, who will not onely be sorry for his death, but also revenge the same, if he chance to be violently or wrongfully put to death.

This appeareth by the Wars of *France* and *Flanders*; This appeared most evidently, by the Bloody and long Civil contentions that were betwixt *Lewis* the last Earl of *Flanders* (for after his death the Earldom fell to the House of *Burgondy*, as it did after the death of the Countie *Charles* unto the house of *Austria*) and the Citizens of *Gant*; who after that they had unadvisedly born arms against their said Earl, and began to repent themselves of their folly, most humbly intreated the Dutchesse of *Brabant*, the Bishop of *Leige*, and other Noble men to be Mediators of a friendly peace betwixt them and their Earl. The Dutchesse and the rest became humble Suitors for the poor *Gantois*; the Earl was obstinate, and would not yeeld to their Request, unless the Inhabitants of *Gant* would be content to meet him

him at a place appointed, bare-headed, and bare-footed, with halters about their necks, and there ask him pardon and forgiveness, which being done, he would then pardon them if he thought good. The rich Citizens hearing these hard conditions, and considering that when they had made this humble submission, it was doubtfull and uncertain whether they should be pardoned or no; of humble Suitors, became most desperate Rebels; and (as Men careless of their lives) resolved rather to die then to yeeld to so unreasonable conditions; and with this resolution, before they were constrained to leave their Town, not above Five Thousand of them issued out of the City, and (as roaring Wolves seeking for their prey) went in a great rage and fury to *Bruges*, where the Earl lay with his Forces, who with an Army of Forty Thousand at the least, set presently upon them, with a full resolution to kill every Mothers Son of them; But God who saved the Children of *Israel* from the persecution of *Pharaoh*, unto whom they had humbled themselves, and drowned the Persecutors in the Red-Sea, vouchsafed to be their Protector, and gave them such Courage, such Fortune and good success, that they overthrew the Earl, and made him hide himself in a poor Cottage under an old womans bed, ransacked his Houses, took *Bruges*, and most of the Cities and Towns of *Flanders*, and sent their unfortunate and unmercifull Earl to beg aid into *France*, from whence he returneth with great help, and findeth them more insolent, rebellious, and obstinate then ever they were.

To be short, the Earl is driven to offer conditions of peace; A mean and base Citizen, named *Leo*, fearing that if a Peace were concluded, he should be severely punished, changed their mindes that were inclined to Peace. This *Leo* died not of a natural death, but of poison, given him (as it was thought) by the Earls means.

Then was there great hope to mitigate the rage of the common people; and yet the war ceased not: The cause of the continuance was, that the Nobility favoured the Earl, and began to malice and menace the Common People; and the Magistrates of *Bruges*, in a Tumult that was betwixt the Gentlemen and the Weavers of the Town, shewed themselves more favourable unto the Gentlemen then unto the Weavers; of this small Cause followed so great a War, as continued above seven years, and consumed above two hundred thousand Flemings.

In those Wars, sometimes *James Artevild*, other times *Philip Artevild*; sometimes *Basconius*, other times *Francis Agricola*, all base men, and of no accompt before they began to be Rebels, so ruled the people, that they led them whither they would, and how they would. *Artevild* imposed upon them what Tributes soever it pleased him. *Basconius* hung up so many of them as but once spake of Peace. *Artevild* was served in Plate of Silver and Gold like an Earl; Feasted the Dames and Ladies as an Earl; Swore his Subjects; and was sworn unto them as an Earl; Contracted Amity and Alliance with the King of *England*, and used his help as an Earl: Briefly, lived with far greater Magnificence then an Earl. *Agricola* wanted not his commendation. He was adored like a god; preferred before the Duke of *Burgundy* (who for his valour was called

Philip

Philip the audacious) both for Valour and Wisdom promised to be made Duke, and in all respects more honoured then the Duke. *Arteuild* had one named *Carpenty*, to extol his Vertues, to recommend him to the people. And *Agricola* used *Bescenius* for his Instrument, who so delighted the peoples ears, that they would willingly hear no sound, no voyce but his. It was he that when *Arteuild* was slain brought *Agricola* into favour and credit. It was he that when the people was dismayed and out of courage because of *Arteuilds* death, put them in heart, and made them more courageous then ever they were. It was he that perswaded the relenting Commons that *Arteuild* lost the field and his Army by indiscretion and rashness, and that *Agricola* would easily overcome their enemies by valour and wisdom.

The like instruments unto these had the Duke of *Mayn* at *Paris*, where he had never obtained so much as he did of the people, nor contained them so much in their devotion, had he not used the malicious help and furtherance of *Marteau*, *Campan*, *Nally*, *Rowland* and *Bassy* the Clerk, the Ministers of his fury, and misladers of the ignorant, rude and seditious Commonalty.

By this you may see how one mutinous Subject begets another. By this you may observe and note, that if Princes could be content to yeeld somewhat unto such mutinous Subjects, and now and then wink at their follies, pardon their boldness, and pacifie their rage and anger, they might live in quiet, and save the lives of many of their loving Subjects: And by this you may perceive, that Princes by Civil Wars incur the hatred and malice of their loving Subjects; which sometimes taketh such deep root in their hearts, that it is hard, yea almost impossible to root it out. And lastly, By that which followeth you may understand, that when a multitude of Subjects are discontented, it is far better to pacifie and reconcile them with courtesie and gentleness, then to provoke and punish them with rigor and cruelty. For the Prince that either openly or secretly practiseth the death of his Subjects, and delighteth to see them massacred and murdered, very seldome or never escapeth himselfe unmassacred.

The Emperor *Caligula* caused many of his Subjects to be done to death; some for his pleasure, and others without any just occasion, especially those that reprehended his actions, or disliked his Government. He thought by these murthers to dispatch all those that hated him, and supposed that when they were dead, he might reign and rule at his pleasure; but he was greatly deceived, for the more he caused to be killed, the more he displeased; and if he slew one Enemy, that one begat him ten far worse Adversaries; insomuch that seeing himself hated of all the people, he wished (as you have heard) that all the Subjects of *Rome* had but one head, that he might have cut it off at a blow; and in the end, when it was too late he perceived that the people multiplied daily, and had infinite heads, and he himself but one, of which he was deprived sooner then he thought he should have been.

Maximinus the Emperor, who was so strong of body that with the blow of his fist he could strike out the tooth of an Horse, and with his hands break in sunder an horse-shoo, presuming on his strength and the multitude of his Souldiers, cared not whom he put to death wrongfully, but after that he had murdered above Four thousand Gentlemen without

without any due observance of Justice and Equity, he himself was murdered by his own Soldiers, who hated his barbarous cruelty more than they honoured his Imperial Majesty. I might trouble you with many examples like unto these, as with the Emperors *Nero*, *Vitellius* and *Gallienus*. But I must proceed.

Briefly to my purpose: As the people therefore live still, and live to revenge the wrongs and injuries done unto them; so contrariwise, Princes die, and their Quarrels, their Designs, and their Purposes, many times die with them; for their Successors are not alwayes of their minds, nor of their Humors, but oftentimes govern themselves otherwise than they did, and taking a quite contrary course unto theirs, most commonly break the Laws they have made, distress the persons whom they advance, and exale them whom they deprest; In regard whereof it is usual amongst wise Courtiers not onely to pleasure him that ruleth, but also him that shall succeed the Ruler; and as *Pompey* said unto *Sylla*, *More do adore the Sun rising then the Sun setting*.

It is wondrous that is reported of *Alexander the Great*, how with an Army of Thirty thousand *Macedonians* onely, he overthrew *Darius* in Three sundry Battels; in the first of which *Darius* had Three hundred thousand Souldiers, which was Ten to One; in the second, Six hundred thousand; which was Twenty to One; in the third, a Million, which was better then Thirty to One. He conquered all *Darius* Empire, *Persia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Babylonia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, *Syria*, and all the rest of *Asia* and *Europe* that was then inhabited.

But these Conquests quickly vanished away; For he died very young; and left not any valiant Successor like unto himself behind him; Whereupon *Titus Livius* moveth this Question, Whether if *Alexander the Great* had warred in his time with the *Romans*, he might easily have subdued them as he did *Darius*?

He Answereth Negatively, and giveth a Reason for his Negative: *Alexander* was a valiant King, and a very brave and very notable good Souldier; but he was but one man, and when he dealt with *Darius* he medled but with one Captain; Whereas if he had encountred with the *Romans*, he should have made trial, not of one, but of many Generals the one after the other, as of *Valerius Corvinus*, *Martius Rutilius*, *Caius Sulpitius*, *Manlius Torquatus*, *Publius Philo*, *Papirius Cursor*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Lucius Volunius*, *Marius Curius*, and many others who were most valiant Captains, and would have made *Alexander* know that they understood the manner and Stratagems of War as well as he did. Besides, *Alexander* was young, and could not have so good counsel given him as those men had who were directed in their Actions by a grave and wise Senate.

Tit. Livius concluded his speech in this manner. The *Macedonians* had but one *Alexander*, and the *Romans* had many Captains which were nothing Inferior unto him, every one of which lived and died without any great loss or danger to the Common-wealth of *Rome*; but whenas *Alexander* died, the State and Honor of his Monarchy perished. The reason of this speech is verified, and the experience thereof seen in the wars *Hanibal* had against the *Romans*. For *Hanibal* was such a Captain as you have heard me describe him long since, and he overthrew many Captains of *Rome*, as *Flaminius*,

Paulus

Paulus Emilius, Terentius, Varro, Marcellus and many others; But in the end he was defeated by *Claudius Nero* and *Fabius Maximus*, and utterly overthrown by that great *Scipio* who was surnamed the *African*. By which as he might, so you may perceive that it is no small matter to meddle with a multitude of people, because the death of a few, begetteth daily a number more; and he that hath subdued them, hath not presently conquered all; Nay the longer he warreth with them, the harder it shall be to prevaile against them: For continuance of them will make them more hearty and valiant, and their Captains more expert and cunning, as Experience hath verified both in *France* and *Flanders*, where the People, bearing Armes against their right or pretended Sovereignes, have more and better Captains then they. But how then, will some men say to me, Shall Subjects Rebel, and shall not Princes punish them themselves? Yes, but not by open warres, if they may pacify them by other meanes. For, few offend at the first, and those few instead of a great Multitude who offend not so grievously as their Counsellors and Corruptors do, and therefore it is neither reason nor humanity, nor equity to punish them all alike; And yet in Civill warres the Innocent suffer together with the malicious, the good with the bad, the ignorant with the wilful, and those that would easily relent, and might quickly be reclaymed, with such are Firebrands to heat them, Schoolemasters to instruct them, Captains to guide them, and evil Councillors to corrupt them. Princes may learne in the dangerous times of popular Seditions, how to carry themselves by the *Ancient Romans* who knowing that their Subjects were the Members, and they the head of one body, and that they were Invincible against Strangers, but not against their Subjects, as often as they chanced to raise any Tumults or Seditions, presently sought meanes to pacify them by Curtesie and Gentleness. The People of *Rome* being once greatly discontented with the rigor and cruelty which was shewed unto them by great usurpers, unto whom they were indebted, rose up in Armes, and were like to have made a great Tumult. The Consuls called the Senater together, to know how they might best pacifie that popular Commotion. The Senators in order delivered their opinions.

Appianus Claudius in a rigorous and cruell Senator, was of opinion that the usurpers should be paid all that was due unto them, and that it was not convenient to suffer the Common people to breake such Contracts, Bonds and Obligations, which they had made with good advise, and when they had great occasion to borrow. And that if they punished those severely which were most mutinous, and had been the chiefe Authors of the mutiny, the rest would be quickly terrified, and taught by their examples never to enter into the like Follies again. The Consul *Servilius* was of a contrary mind, and thought it best to content the Seditious by some Gentle meanes, saying, that it was far more easie to bend then to breake the hearts of the Common people; and that gentleness and lenity is a far better meanes then rigor and severity to conserve and preserve any State whatsoever, because if a rigorous course take not good success, presently the People wax insolent, hard to be reconciled, and so peremptory and obstinate, that it will be impossible to reduce them to good order. The Senate allowed *Servilius* his opinion; and order was taken that the Usurpers should forbear their money and Interest for the same, untill their debtors were more willing and better able to pay them. The same *Romans* can also teach Princes, that if they commit any extraordinary kind of violence, and the Subjects for a time forbear to shew their dislike thereof, yet they must not presume upon that forbearance to offend and displease again in the like

manner; because he that winketh at a fault once, will not beare with offences of the like nature alwaies. It hapned that not long after the Tumult before mentioned, some few of the greatest Senators of *Rome* had secretly caused a *Tribunes* of the people to be murthred, because under the colour and pretence of his Office, he had (as they were informed) done his best endeavor to make a commotion amongst the common people. The *Tribune* thus murthred, the people shewed no outward sign of discontentment, because they knew not unto whom they might impute his death, or whom to blame or accuse for the same. The Senators were glad to see that his death was so well taken, thinking that they had used a very good course to prevent and withstand the like seditions, and that the other *Tribunes* would be warned by their Fellow and Colleagues punishment never hereafter to move the common people to rebell. They supposed that by one mans death they had removed all occasions of Tumultuous disorders; But experience taught them not long after, that they were greatly deceived. For when they were to levy an Army of men to use in their warres, and thinking that the *Tribunes* death was forgotten; they commanded one *Volero*, one of the common people who had been Captain of certain footmen, to have his company in a readines, he answered them plainly, that he would not obey their commandment Whereupon the Consuls *Emilius* and *Virginus*, sent certain Sergeants unto him to carry him to prison; He escapeth out of their hands, getteth himself into a press of common people, there he crieth out with open mouth, My masters, let us defend our selves; we must not think to be any more supported by our *Tribunes* who dare not speak for us, for feare lest they be killed, as one hath been already that favoured us in our honest causes. He had no sooner said this, but that the people, although the Consuls endeavoured to appease the Tumult, ran upon the Sergeants, who after that they had been well beaten, and their Maces broken about their heads, saved themselves in the Palace where the Senate was assembled. The Senators deliberate presently how they might pacifie this sedition; many thought it meet to repress force by force; but the graver sort was of opinion, that it were not good to tame the members of a body by violence, and that they had already too much offended who were Authors of the *Tribunes* death, and much more they who intreated *Volero* hardly, for that in Popular diseases, the gentler a Medicine is, the better it is; and the more that a Magistrate spareth, the better he fareth. The same *Romans* will likewise teach Princes, that the eldest Counsellors are not alwaies the wisest, and that the most voices are not oftentimes the soundest voices. It chanced another time in *Rome*, that the Commonalty was so greatly discontented, that the greater part of the people were purposed to forsake their City, and to inhabit in some place where the Nobility should not carry so heavy an hand over them as the Senators did; and with this resolution they left their houses, and were ready to betake themselves to their journey. The Senators understanding of this determination, cast their heads together, and advised among themselves what it were best to do to remove this ferled opinion, and to hold them still in the City, which was almost past all hope. *Appius Claudius*, according to his rigorous nature and old custome, perswaded them to bridle the mutinous by rigor, and severity; For saith he, the common people, if they be not held in continual awe, wax proud, disdainfull and insolent, not caring what they do, or how often they offend; And therefore to suffer them in one folly, were to encourage them to commit another. This opinion was presently

presently approved by all the younger Senators, whose hands tickled and hearts burned with a desire of revenge for some small indignities offered unto them by the Commonalty. *Menenius Agrippa*, a Senator of few yeares, but greater clemency then *Appius Claudius*, contradicted this opinion; because the Commonwealth representeth, saith he, the body of a man; and a good Physitian will not presently cut off a member or joynt that is grieved, but will seeke some gentle meanes to assuage the griefe; and experience hath taught us, that as a wild beast being gently used waxeth tame, and contrariwise a tame one being rudely handled becometh wild; so the most rude and common people relent if you use them gently, and they that are most civill and modest, quickly forget all modesty and civility if you once provoke them too much, if you continue to displease and discontent them too long and too often. *Menenius* his opinion was followed. *Spurius Manlius* intreated them to excuse the younger Senators Follic; They were commended and departed quickly from *Claudius* his opinion; and *Agrippa* was enjoyned to pacifie the people: He therefore followeth this commandement; calleth the Commonalty together, declareth unto them the Senators good will towards them; speaketh so gently unto them that he maketh them all change their resolution and useth this principal reason to enforce this perswasion. The Senators (saith he) resemble the Belly, and you the rest of the members of mans body; must the other parts of mans body complain that all they can gather and scrape together is little enough for the Belly? Is it not the Belly that nourisheth all the rest of the Body, that maintaineth and sustaineth every part thereof? doth the Belly when it receiveth any kind of victuals be it never so delicate, never so rare, and exquisite, reserve all for it self? Doth it not distribute and disperse the same even to the parts that are furthest off from the Belly? even so the Senators, do they challenge that for their own use and benefit which they exact of you? Do they not employ the Tributes and Subsidies which they levy to the behoofe and commodity of the whole State? Do they not all that they do for your good and safety? Are they not rather Nurces to nourish you, then Lords to command you? Are they not Shepherds to defend you, and not Wolves to devour you? And do they not shew themselves to be your Fathers, rather then your Foes? Why then do you complain of them? Why threaten you to leave them, who will forget themselves to remember you, and rather die to content you, then live to confound you? Thus ended *Menenius* his speech, somewhat abruptly and yet so mildly, that the grave Senators most highly commended it, and the common people most willingly followed it. Now to apply these examples to the King of Spain, and to tell you how he, and any other Prince in the wide world, governing as he doth, might have made some use and profit of them, it will be no lost labour, because it will make his oversights more manifest then they are unto the view and Judgement of the whole world: Had he therefore, at the beginning of the Alienation of his Subjects hearts and Affections from him, harkened unto such Counsellors as *Servilius* and not *Appius Claudius*; had he when some one Subject like unto *Volero* was displeased, satisfied him; and not provoked him; had he when his Subjects were departing out of their Country, not sent a *Claudius* to kepress them, but a *Menenius* to reconcile them, hee had never found so many *Agricolas*, so many *Arsewills*, so many *Carpenters*, so many *Bascons*, so many *Leones* as he did amongst them. Had he not disturbed, disgraced, discredited his faithfull Subjects,

servants, his best Officers, as *Nero* did *Rufus*, *Seneca*, *Flavius*, *Sulpicius*, *Afer*, *Corbulo*, and *Galba*, they never would have harboured a thought to deprive him (as the others did *Nero*) of the possession of the Low Countries; Briefly had he considered that when *Nero* began to be a Tyrant, First *France*, then *Spain*, and at the last other Provinces fell from their obedience towards him, he might easily have perceived, that when *Brabant* failed him, *Flanders*, *Holland* and all the rest of his seventeen Provinces would likewise fall from him. But it pleased him having two notable Examples before his eyes, the one of Antient time, the other of latter years, the first bad, and the other good, to reject the one, and to follow the other.

The Examples were these; *Rehoboam* the sonne of wise *Solomon* would impose greater Taxes and Subsidies upon his Subjects then his Father had done before him. The People hereupon complained unto him, as the Low-country Subjects did unto the Spanish King, desired him rather to mitigate then to increase his Impositions, shewed that they were not able to bear and support so great charges. He called his Councillors together (as undoubtedly the *Spaniard* did) and craved their advice: The elder Councillors were of opinion that it was good and expedient to yield unto his Subjects demands (as perhaps the better sort of the Councell were) and by easing their charges to assure unto himself their hearts and their affections; But the younger sort (and such undoubtedly were the Spanish Senators, either in Wit or years) advised him to reject their Petition, and not to suffer them to prescribe Laws unto him (who were to receive laws from him) but to let them know that he was their King, and they his Subjects, and that it belonged unto them to obey. This Counsel was followed: But what followed in following this Counsel? The greatest part of his People Rebelled against him: *Jeroboam* was chosen King, and *Rehoboam* raised an Army of 80 Thousand men to constrain his Subjects to return to their former obedience; but he lost him time and Ten parts of his Kingdom.

Lewis the Eleventh King of *France*, a wise and subtile Prince, if ever there were any in *France*, at his first coming to the Crown, played his part as *Rehoboam* did, until that the chief of his Nobility rebelled against him.

This wise King acknowledged his fault, sought all means possible to pacify and reconcile those Rebels; He yielded to their demands, and was so far from punishing their disobedience, as that he received them for his chief Councillors, and was always more directed by them, then by any other of his Councell. And when he had escaped the danger, whereinto he was fallen by his Folly, he gave great thanks to Almighty God, that it had pleased him to give him the Grace not to hazard the losse of so great and mighty a Kingdome as *France* was, and is, upon the uncertainty of a Battaille and especially of a Battaille to be fought against his own Subjects; Subjects that love their Prince as the head of the Politique body, their children as the stay and hope of their everlasting Families, and their Liberty as the most precious Jewell of their worldly wealth: And therefore when they see their Liberty restrained or impeached, they forget their duty to their Prince, remember not their love to their children, and cut off their love and affection to their goods; Nay they are no longer Masters of themselves, being void of sense, of reason, of Judgment, apprehending no thing else but that which is before their eyes, and following those only who delude their senses, abuse their reason, and deceive their Judgment,

Judgement; so that to strive with them in these Passions, is to contend with mad men in their fury; and it is almost as impossible for a Prince to rule them in this rage, as it is impossible for one man to take and tame a number of wild Beasts in a wide and great Forrest. It is doubtless that the Spanish King knew thus much; but it pleased him to beleieve *Appius Claudius* better then *Servilius*; to persecute and not to pacifie *Vologas*; to reject and not to receive *Menenius* his Counsell, and to imitate *Rehoboam* of *Israel*, rather then *Lewis* of *France*; no marvel then if *Rehoboams* hard and ill Fortune, and not *Lewis* his rare and strange Felicity becometh him. You have seen his bad course; heard his impossibility to subjugate and subdue *England*; It remaineth to shew you, that although he should conquer *England*, yet he could not continue long in quiet and peaceable possession thereof. It is hard to say what course he would take, and how he would governe if he should chance to prevaile against *England*; but I think he would imitate the example of, others who have made conquest of strange and forreigne Countries before him; and he will therefore make all things new, as he himself shall be new; He will appoint a new government and new Governors; He will establish new Laws, new Orders, new Customes; build up new Citadels, and pluck down old Castles; kill our Nobility and place *Spaniards* in their roomes; Change all our Officers, and make Castles and Forts to keep his Subjects in awe and in fear; destroy the Country and take away all ancient Priviledges; impoverish the rich, and enrich the poor; unarme the vanquished, and arme the vanquishers; plant his religion, and banish ours; impose new tributes and charge the Subjects with strange impositions; Briefly set spies in every City, in every village, in every town, in every Hamlet, and in every House, to mark what is done or said, what what is Counsell'd or practis'd. Behold this is all that he can do: This is as much as the *Danes* did: This is the course that *William* the Conqueror took; Briefly this is the manner of Government, which the *Romans* practis'd; and it is likely that he will doe all this in his own Kingdome: But our Country men knowing by certaine report, that he will doe all this, will rather die then endure all this; or if they endure it for a time, will undoubtedly both seek and finde means to free themselves from such servitude in shorttime. The examples of other Nations and other People which have killed themselves with their own hands because they would not fall into their Enemies hands, will both move and encourage them to imitate and follow their Magnanimity; The rebellions of many Princes will animate them to Revolt from their obedience; Necessity will put some way or other into their heads how to find weapons, how to choose Captains, how to perswade a general Revolt, and how to procure an alteration and change of his Tyrannical Government. For albeit that the *Spaniards* will perhaps for a time Governe with all mildness, humanity and Justice; yet as soon as they think themselves well settled and assured to hold and continue their conquests; as soone as they taste those sweet Commodities and pleasant fruit which follow after the great increase of wealth and riches, then will they begin to change their customes and their conditions; then should you see (which God forbid you ever see) the Magistrates rob the commonwealth; base and unworthy persons advanced to places of Dignity; Superiors wrong their Inferiors; unsupportable tributes imposed upon the People; abominable Vices left unpunished; Offices of Justice sold for money; Laws little or nothing regarded; Strangers more honored

honored and respected then our own countrymen; and good manners changed into evil conditions: And when you see this, then you may boldly say, that things are at the worst; that violent courses cannot long endure; that a time of a change and alteration is not far off; and lastly, since those things which Philosophers and wise men have noted to be the Forerunners of the Subversion of States, are happened, and fallen upon our State, that it will quickly change and perish.

All things therefore being well considered, and that especially remembered which was said, when I handled the first oversight of the Spanish King; I may boldly infer, that Conquests are chargeable before they be gotten, easie to be lost after they be attained, and wholly depending upon the Government of such Officers as are placed over them; who if they be good Servants, many times make themselves Masters; and if they be bad, put in great hazard all that is committed to their charge; And since there are not many that endeavor to be such as they should be, there can be no great good looked for at their hands, so long as they continue such as they appeare to be.

Besides, the great ingratitude of *Justinian* the Emperor to *Marcelles*, of *Ferdinando* of *Spain* to *Gonsalvo*, breedeth a Jealousy and feare in the hearts and heads of as many as are imployed in the like services, that their Kings and Princes will reward them with the like recompences; And this Jealousie maketh them to seek meanes how to be able to match or rather overcharge their Sovereigne in Power and Authority.

Was not this Jealousie the sole and onely cause, that *Tiberius* had like to have been deprived of his State by *Sejanus*, *Commodus* by *Pervicius*, *Theodosius* the second by *Eutropius*, *Justinian* by *Bellizarie*, *Xerxes* by *Artaban*, and the *Merovingians* and *Carolingians* by the great Masters of their Pallaces?

Is not the feare of the like danger the cause that Princes change their Liutenants and Deputies often, least that growing in too great Credit and love with the people, their Credit may breed in them Ambition, their Ambition a disloyalty, and their disloyalty a plain Rebellion, and their Rebellion a lamentable overthrow of their Kingdomes?

Is not this yearly or continuall changing of Officers the cause that they knowing that their Authority is of no long continuance, study more to enrich themselves then to benefit the people, to oppress and overcharge the Subjects, then to comfort and relieve them? And is not their study the cause that the people are discontented, and oftentimes enforced to Rebell? Moreover how can it be but all or most part of those Inconveniencies of which I have spoken, must needs fall upon the King of *Spain*, whether he live long or die shortly, since many motives and causes of Rebellion in Subjects and discontentment in Noblemen concur together in him? For hee is old and will leave a very young Infant or no old Prince to succeed him in all his States, who perhaps will Govern by Deputies and Liutenants, as his Father did before him in those Dominions which are far distant from *Spain*, and will participate some small portion of Government with his Sister, that hath been a long time nourished and nussed up in the sweetness of commanding.

Of his Governors some will be ambitious, and desire to rule; Others of baser minds, but yet greedy of Recompences and Rewards, for services done to him and his Father; He will be jealous of some, and give too much credit unto others; His Courtiers will engage and indebt themselves in setting themselves forth in Triumphs and pageants that they will devise to show him: His Captains will crave to be always employed in wars; and to levy those Soldiers in those Countries which will not be well contented with those Levies: Briefly then will some Potentates and Princes, considering the years and weakness of this young Prince, lay claim unto some of his States; and every man will snatch what so ever shall be fittest for his purpose, nearest to his Seat, and most open to his Invasions.

The Soldiers of *Rome* rebelled against *Otho*; because he was old: Certain Cities of *France* against the *Romans*; because they were greatly indebted: The People of *Thracia* against *Rome*; because there were Soldiers levied in their Country against their wills: *Orgatorix* Prince of the *Switzers*: because he was desirous to be a King, *Morgovias* and *Gauedagius* against *Cordis* their Aunt, because she was a woman: The Englishmen against *Edward* the Fourth, because he dishonored the Earle of *Warwick*; against *Henry* the Third, because he would have made new Laws; The Duke of *Buckingham* against *Richard* the Third because he brake promise with him for the Earldom of *Hertford*; the *Scots* against *James* the Third, because he gave greater credit unto some of the Courtiers then they deserved; and the *Spaniards* against *Charles* the Fifth, because he lived more in *Flanders* then in *Spain*, and governed *Spain* by *Flemings*.

Lastly, when as *Alexander* the Great died, *Seleucus* seized upon the Kingdom of *Syria*; *Ptolomy* usurped upon *Egypt*; *Antigonus* made himself King of *Asia*; and *Cassander* reigned in *Greece* and *Macedonia*. So whensoever the King of *Spain* shall die, his Son will enjoy most of his Dominions, the Duke of *Savoy* will look for part of them; His other Daughters Husband will look for a proportionable share, and the Princes of *Italy* will perhaps lay in for their part and for their portion. For every Kingdom hath a certain Period, an end and declination; And it is seldome seen that any State flourisheth many hundred years: And as those bodies die soonest; that are subject to most diseases; so those Kingdomes perish soonest, whose Princes are most inclined to many vices. *Saul* reigned but Forty years; and he and his posterity perished for his Infidelity. *David* ruled other Forty, and his Kingdom was divided for his Adultery. *Achan* was King no longer time, and his Kingdom was destroyed for his Idolatry. And *Cyrus* enjoyed his Crown and Scepter not many years, and his race failed in his Son *Cambyses* for his Cruelty.

And how can the Spanish Kings declining glory last long, since many probable and very learned Authors do greatly belye him, if he be not infected with all or most part of those vices which possessed incredulous and unbelieving *Saul*, adulterous and lecherous, *David* Idolatrous and Superstitious *Achan*, Cruel and incestuous *Cambyses*. I favor and reverence his Person because he is a King, hate and detest his vices, because they become not a Prince; have declared and discovered his indiscretion, because he may be no more thought so wise as common Fame reporteth him to be.

And

And now, because of a dissembling friend, he is become our professed Enemy, I may not conceale the means how his courage may be cooled, his Pride abated, his purposes prevented, his courses crossed, his Ambition restrained, his hopes frustrated, his strength weakned, his Alliances dissolved, and Briefly, all or part of his Kingdom rent and dismembred.

To know how all this may be done, you shall need but to look back upon the means that he useth to conserve his States, and to crosse his Counsels and Intentions in the use of those means. For, doth he continue in credit by the General reputation and conceit that is had of his wealth? Let it be shewed that he is poor and needy. Holdeth he his Subjects and Towns of Conquest in awe, by keeping Garrisons in them? Seeke either to corrupt those Garrisons, or to perswade those Towns to expel them. Borrowes he money in his need and necessity of the *Genovais* and other Merchants of *Italie*? Counsel them to call for their old Debts and to lend him no more money before they be paid. Doth our Nation and others enrich his Country by resorting thither? Let them repair no more then they needs must to those Countries. Fetcheth he yearly great wealth from the *Indies*? Let that be intercepted more then it hath been. Placeth he wise Governors and Magistrates in his Dominions to Conaine his Subjects in obedience, and his Neighbours in fear? Send Fire-brands and Authors of Sedition amongst his Subjects as he doth amongst ours, and think it as lawfull and easie to estrange the affection of his wisest and most trusty Deputies and Lieutenants, as it was and is for him to alienate the hearts of some of the Nobility of France from their King.

Hath he married the now Duke of *Parma* so meanly that he can not be able to recover his right to *Portugal*? Or hath he so weakned *Don Antonio* that he shall never be able to returne into his Country? Provoke the one to be his Enemy in putting him in mind of his Fathers untimely death, and by remembering the great wrongs that he suffereth, and let many Princes joyn in heart and in helpe to set up the other against him, and to strengthen and succor both, rather then the one or the other should not annoy him. Is *France* unable to hurt him because *France* is divided? Reconcile them that are dislevered, and revive the quarrels and pretensions that *France* hath against him? Presumeth he that the *Germans* will rather help then hurt him, because he is ally'd to some in Conjunction of blood, and to others in league of amity? dissolve his alliances and debase the mightiest of his kindred.

To be short, are the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, and the other Princes of *Italy* either for feare or affection his friends? encourage the Timorous and fearfull, and alter and remove the love and affection of them that beare him best good will.

But some man will say, This is sooner said then done, and therefore I have said nothing unless I shew you how all this may be well and conveniently done. There is a generall meanes, and there are diverse special waies to effect all this. I will acquaint you with both, because you shall bee ignorant of neither, and I will be as brief as I may, because I take it high time not to trouble you any longer. It is grown unto a general use of late yeares, and undoubtedly it was usual in times past, when Princes undertake any great actions or enterprises that may perhaps seem strange and somewhat unreasonable unto other Princes whose favor and friendship they desire, to publish the causes and reasons which induce them to enter
into

into those actions; and in those Declarations to omit nothing that either may grace and credit them, or discredit and disgrace their Adversaries.

The States of the Low Countries when necessity inforced them to renew Wars against the *Spaniards*, published certain Books containing the causes which moved them thereunto; and caused those Books to be imprinted in seven several Languages, in Latine, in French, in their own Tongue, in High Dutch, in Italian, in Spanish and in English, to the end that all the Nations of the World, hearing the Justice and Equity of their quarrel, might either as Friends help and assist them, or as Neutrals, neither aid nor hinder them as their Adversaries. The late Duke of *Alençon*, because it might seem strange unto some, that he being a Catholick Prince, would aid men of a contrary Religion; and reprehensible unto others, that being in some manner allied and a supposed friend unto the Spanish King, he would accept the Title of the Duke of *Brabant*, and undertake the defence of the Low Countries against the *Spaniards*, made it apparent unto the world, by the like means, that it was not any ambitious mind, or greedy desire of advancement, but a Princely clemency, and commiseration of the distressed state of that Country, too much oppressed by the Spanish Tyranny, that moved him to receive them into his Protection and Patronage.

The like did the County *Palatine Casimer* when as he came into *Flanders* with his Forces. And the like have many other Princes done, not in just causes only, but in matters that had far greater affinity with injustice and dishonesty, then with justice and integrity. That Duke of *Burgundy* which more wickedly then justly murdered the Duke of *Orléans*, fearing that his murder might justly purchase him the Kings heavy displeasure, and the general hatred of all *France*, suborned a learned and famous Divine named *John Petie*, not onely to excuse, but also to commend and allow the execution thereof in many publick Sermons, and writ divers Letters unto the best Towns of *France*, to declare and justifie the cause that moved him thereunto. *Henry* the Fourth of *England*, whom many Historiographers hold rather for a wrongful Usurper then a lawful King, to make it known by what Title he took upon him to be King of *England*, sent divers Ambassadors into *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, with such instructions, and so forceable reasons, that he made a bad cause seem just and equitable. That Pope of *Rome*, which (as you have heard) betrayed *Frederick* the Emperor most leudly unto the Great Turk, and was the onely cause of his long and chargeable imprisonment, finding that his unchristian treachery, being happily disclosed, did greatly blemish his name and reputation, to give some shew and colour of Justice to a bad cause, caused to be published, that two notable Murderers had been taken at *Rome*, who voluntarily confessed that the Emperor *Frederick* had hired and sent them thither of purpose to kill the Pope.

How the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the more learned, the conscionable Dean *Richard Shaw*, justified in the Guild-hall of *London*, and at *Pauls Cross*, the unlawful and tyrannical Usurpation of *Richard* the Third, our Histories make it so manifest, that I need not to trouble you with the recital thereof. Since therefore not mean and Lay-men onely, but Noblemen and great Divines have both defended and furthered wrongful causes; and with their defence and furtherance, have brought to pass their lend

and wicked purpose; why should not men sufficiently seen in matters of State, and thoroughly furnished with all good qualities, requisite in a good and worthy Writer (of which sort this Realm had rather some want than any great store) depict the Spaniard and his tyranny so lively and so truly, that their reasons, their persuasions, and their admonitions may shake the affections, and penetrate even to the hearts of his best friends and his most assured Allies? But he is a faint friend that will be won with a word, and he not worthy the name of an Ally, whom the dash of a pen may make forsake and abandon his Confederate. How then? what other general way is to be practised. Where a pen cannot prevail, let a purse be walking. *Quis nisi mentis snops oblatum respuit aurum?* Let greater advancement be proffered to the Spanish Governors; greater preferment to his best friends; notable rewards unto those that will leave him. *Julius Caesar*, to win the hearts and affections of *Scipios* Souldiers, promised them peaceable and quiet possession of their own goods, and to reward them with the self same Honor, Offices, and Dignities which he vouchsafed upon his own followers; and by this means he won from *Scipio* many of his dearest friends.

Francis Forza a Captain of great worth, and of better credit, served the Venetians and the Florentines together many years, against *Philip Maria* Duke of *Millan*; and they to retain him to their onely service, made him great offers, promised him great preferment; but the Duke hearing thereof, with a faithful promise to give him his onely Daughter in marriage, and to make him his sole and onely Heir, made him forsake his old friends, and to become his vowed friend and servant. But *Francis Forza* was a mean Captain, and a man of no great Linage, and therefore easie to be changed with an assured hope of better advancement; whereas men of good account, of honorable Parentage and of sufficient Lands and possessions (such as the Spaniards cheifest Governors commonly are) will not falsifie their faith, or forsake their King for any reward whatsoever. Truly men of great honour, prefer their credit before their gain; and yet honorable men are men as others be, and suffer themselves to be won as others are.

There was a time when the Marquess of *Mantova* (whose Successors are now Dukes, and equal to great Princes, and he not inferior unto any of his Predecessors) having vouchsafed to serve the Venetians as their General against *Lewis* Duke of *Millan*, stood not so much upon his honor, but that the said *Lewis* with greater offers, and a larger Pension then he had of the Venetians, was able to withdraw him from their service and devotion.

There was a time when the mighty Emperor *Charls* the Fifth, being desirous to alienate the affection of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, from *Francis* the First, King of *France*, obtained his request and purpose, by promising the Cardinal *Julio de Medicis* a yearly Pension of ten thousand Ducats to be paid him out of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Toledo*, and by giving to *Alexander de Medicis* a Pension of the like value in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

There was a time when the said Emperor *Charls*, being jealous of the great friendship that was betwixt Pope *Clement* the Seventh, and the Duke of *Urbino*, and likewise desirous to distract *Andrew Doria* from the service of the said Pope, who then was in League with the French King, prevailed with the one by giving him the City of *Lova* in

in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and gained the assured friendship of the other, by making him Duke of *Malfie*, and by encreasing the pay and Pension which the Pope gave him. To be short, there was time when as *Philip* surnamed the Fair, King of *France*, did not onely entreat *Adolph* the Emperor. by the onely means of great Rewards to forsake the Amity and Alliance of *Edward* King of *England*, and of *Guido* Earle of *Flanders*, but also procured *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, by warring upon the Emperor at home, to detain him in *Germany*, so that he could not, as he had promised, trouble and molest *France*.

But some men will say, These men had no regard of their honour, whereunto a man carrying any reasonable respect, will hardly be intreated to commit any thing that may never so little blemish or prejudice his reputation. It cannot be denied that vertuous men had rather have their names eternized by their vertuous actions, then their Families enriched by unlawful corruption: Yet it is written, and written by an Author worthy to be remembered amongst the best Authors of our time, That the Marquess of *Pescara*, a Prince whose Vertues, Fame, Reputation, Credit and Honor were nothing inferior unto the most honorable and vertuous Princes that ever lived on earth, had been won by his friend *Jeremy Morony* to forsake the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, if the Cardinal *Acoltera* and the Marquess of *Angelo*, together with those learned Civilians which were sent by the Pope and the Venetians to perswade him that the Emperor was not lawful King of *Naples*, and that the Pope had power to dispose thereof unto whom it pleased him, had used pregnant and sufficient Reasons to enforce their perswasions, and to assure him of the Kingdom:

And undoubtedly the brotherly love of *Don John de Austria*, and the loyal affection of the late Duke of *Parma*, might easily have been shaken by a more sweet then tempestuous wind of the like nature: For since Marquesses, Dukes, Emperors and Popes, have been content to be caught with a golden hook: let no man be afraid to try and sound, or despair to win and change the affections of meaner personages, especially such as are either greedy or needy of rewards, and against such Princes as have given many occasions of discontentment unto such Personages.

But now to descend from the general means unto those particular ways which I promised to declare unto you, let me, I pray you, with good leave and patience run over the short Catalogue of his best friends, and shew you how even they may be entreated or counselled either to forsake him utterly, or to stand as Neutrals and idle lookers on, whilst others shall annoy him. And because of late years, and since his late dishonour received in *England*, he hath used all means possible to induce the Princes of *Italy* to aid him in a second Enterprize which he intendeth against *England*: I will as briefly as I can set down divers Reasons which may be used to dissuade them from yeelding him any manner of assistance. It may therefore be said unto the *Italians* in general, that they live now in peace and quietness under the wings and protection of divers Princes; but who knoweth whether the *Spaniard* desireth this aid of them to disturb their quiet, and to disquiet their general peace? who knoweth whether he that now favoureth them, will hereafter take occasion to hate them? who knoweth, since it is the custom of Princes to seek help of others, not for any great need they have thereof, but either to weaken them, or to bring them

them into the hatred of others, whether the King of *Spain* desireth their succour and furtherance to diminish their strength, or the number of their friends? Briefly, who knoweth when their friends are diminished, and their forces impaired, whether he will not suddenly denounce open Wars against them? Great is the force of ambition, and unsatiab'e are the desires of covetous Princes, who having subdued one Country, seek presently after another, and when they have conquered that, labour to attain unto new Conquests, and never leave to enlarge their over large Territories until a small peice of ground incl oseth their dead and rotten bodies.

But it may be said, the King of *Spain* is old; but covetousness dieth not, but increaseth in old age. He is already Master and Lord of many Kingdoms and of many Countries: But as I have said, the more a man hath, the more a man wanteth; he being nigh unto death's door, thinks nothing of his death. But every Prince before his death, would be glad to make his name immortal, his Dominions infinite. He is a Catholick Prince, & therefore will hold his words and promises with Catholicks as he hath done hitherto: But deceitful men keep touch in small matters, to deceive the better in causes of great weight and consequence: They may therefore justly fear, that he who coveteth Kingdoms that are far from him, is not without a great desire of States that joyn and border upon his Dominions; and they may well think since he is descended (as you shall hear anon) of such Predecessors, as were ready to take any occasion whatsoever, just or unjust, honest or dishonest, commendable or reprehensible, to enlarge their Dominions, that he hath learned of them to have the like desires, and use the like practises.

But grant they have no just occasion to distrust him: what shall they gain by his friendship? what profit shall they reap by aiding and assisting him? He called them to help him: But when forsooth? when his ships were sunk, bruised and broken; some lost and never heard of, and those which returned into *Spain*, were so shaken and beaten with weather and Gunshot, that either they will be altogether unprofitable, or hardly repaired without great and infinite charges; and when his people were either drowned, or so terrified, that they will have a small desire, and less courage to return in *England*. But why implored he not their helps when he went for *England* with an assured hope and confidence, of an happy Conquest, of an honourable Victory? He was loath to use their help, because he thought himself able to attain his purpose, without making them partakers of his glory; and now that he hath failed of his purpose, he calleth them unto a second voyage, intended for a revenge of the dishonour received in his first journey; and they must go to recover his credit, and to revenge his quarrel, who have not as yet righted many wrongs done unto themselves, nor wiped away divers foul spots and stains which blemish their own credit. And how must they revenge his quarrel? Forsooth, by sending their best Soldiers into a strange Country, by dis-furnishing themselves of Ships and Artillery, and by lending him Munition and Mariners, who might do well to spare his own people, and to reserve theirs to encounter with the common enemy of Christendom. Their Ancestors bought peace with unreasonable conditions, and at a great price; and they shall go to Wars where they have no cause of War. Their Predecessors when any Nation dwelling beyond the Alps intended to pass the Alps, endeavoured by all means possible to hinder their passage, and to keep them at home, and they

they having not felt the forces of such Nations these many years, shall for his sake now go about to provoke them. Their Forefathers lived quietly at home with their own; and they shall disquiet themselves and other men, and endanger their own for his cause and his advantage. Their Parents never suffered their ships or their Souldiers to depart out of *Italy*, for fear lest the great Turk in their absence should invade their Country, and they must send their provision and their people to fight against the Heavens, against the Winds, against the Weather and the Sea, for so they fight that fight against *England*. Their hearts may tremble to think of it; and that which hath happened once may happen again. If whilst their Forces shall be employed in the Spanish kings service, the Turk shall assail them at home, shall they stay for their strengths until they come out of *England*? Or shall they yeeld themselves unto his mercy and discretion? For there is no other way to relieve them, or to repel them. But it may be said that the Spaniards credit and reputation will be their Buckler; his greatness will restrain and repress their Adversaries. Tell me, you that think so; Is he stronger then his Father was? Hath he ever had better success in the Wars then he? And yet in the prime and flower of his years, and even when he thought himself free from all danger, from all trouble and vexation of the Turks, the Turks came to besiege *Vienna*, which is the Emperors chief Seat, and a City of as great strength as any other City of *Europe*. They may consider that Armies that go far from home have (as I have said) seldom good success; that enterprises which are unadvisedly and hastily taken in hand, seldom fall out well; that men being once deceived of their expectation in any thing that they undertake, proceed faintly and fearfully in all that belongeth to that action; that to hang good Souldiers, and to employ them in a bad cause and evil quarrel, is but to tempt God; and lastly, that is more grievous that which a man hath already in possession, then not to attain unto that which he would fain obtain.

All these being duly considered, they may justly be afraid when they call to minde, that their Navy which they shall send into *England* to help the king of *Spain*, shall pass through many Seas, Rocks, with many contrary Winds, in great Tempests, and through manifest and dangerous perils; and that their Souldiers shall be sometimes subject to hunger and thirst, sometimes be Sea sick, and in great danger of other distafes; for where many be shut up close together, there few can be in health long.

All this being duly considered, they may well be dismayed when they shall remember that the Spanish Fleet, which went out of *Spain* with an assured hope of victory, returned with great loss and ignominy: And they may be discomforted, when they enter into cogitation that the Spanish Navy returning to that place where they were once well beaten; and remembering what small relief they had when they were in distress, will not onely lose the courage themselves, but also discourage their Italian Souldiers, not being accustomed to fight so far from home, or on so dangerous and troublesome Seas, and with so valiant a Nation as the English Sea and Subjects are.

They may again be dismayed, when they consider, that although they should conquer *England*, yet they cannot keep it long, because they have no just cause to fight against *England*.

And lastly, they may be dismayed when it shall come to their mindes and remembrance, that the small hope and confidence which they have to prevail in *England*, cannot countervail the great distrust and fear which they

they have to lose their own possessions and Country, whilst they busie themselves in seeking after strange and difficult conquests; And if to leave nothing unsaid that may be said to encourage them, some men will use unto them all the same perswasions which our Fugitives used to induce the Spanish King to undertake the Conquest of our Land, that man whatsoever he be, may well and sufficiently be answered with the same Arguments which I used long since to confute their Reasons: With these and the like Reasons uttered by grave men unto the Common people (who hearken willingly unto any thing for their own quiet and security) and used in convenient time and place, of which wise men in their wisdom and gravity can take their best advantage, the most discreet and wisest Subjects of *Italy* may quickly be perswaded not to further the Spaniard in his unlawfull and ambitious attempts and purposes, and the Princes themselves who willingly enter into no action, whereof some great commodity is not likely to follow, will easily hearken unto any man of credit and experience, that shall review their memories, and reduce unto their minde the means that their Predecessors have used to free themselves from Foreign Servitude and bondage; a commodity, far exceeding all the commodities that heart can imagine or tongue express. It may therefore be shewed unto them in general, that *Maximilian* the Emperor, and the Spanish Kings great Grandfather (for it were tedious to talk of his former Predecessors, and of the wrongs that they did unto *Italy*) entered oftentimes into League and Amity with barbarous Nations against the Princes of *Italy*, brought them into their Country, besieged their Cities, cast down their Walls, ransacked their Houses, changed their mirth into sorrow, and never left to trouble and molest them, until that his strength, and not his good will to annoy them failed him. *Charles* the fifth his Father (for his Grandfather *Philip* died in the prime of his years, and therefore could not greatly trouble them, because he wanted the means) doth the like; and many of the *Italian* Princes most loving Subjects die, some by the sword, others by famine, some through grief, and others by infinite labour and travel, neither permitting them that resisted him to live one hour in rest and quietness, nor suffering those that yeilded unto him to enjoy any long peace and tranquillity; but reduced both the one and the other sort unto extreame beggery, by grievous impositions and long and tedious wars. He himself wheresoever he ruleth in *Italy* (and he ruleth there too much) imposeh new Tributes, unaccustomed Subsidies, and extraordinary impositions; and where he hath no Authority to rule, there he borroweth money, and payeth his Debts with fair words, and sweet promises; and when he useth them best, with Bonds and Obligations, which shall be paid when every brother payeth another. When this is said, and they moved with the grievous remembrance and lamentable rehearsal hereof, it may be they would be glad to remedy and revenge these wrongs; but they dare not adventure to contend with him; they will fear him, because he is wealthy; stand in aw of him, because he is mighty; and strive amongst themselves, who shall first begin to trouble him, because they distrust one another. His might and his wealth have already been shewn sufficiently, and proved to be far inferiour unto the general conceit and opinion that is had of them, and their distrust may be removed by a general League, and perfect imitation of their Predecessors.

It must therefore first be remembered, that *Nicholas* the third Pope of *Rome*, fearing the great wealth of *France*, under *Philip* the son of *Lewis* firnamed

firmamed The Godly, used all means possible to abate and diminish the French Kings power and reputation. And the state of this present time must be conferred with the condition of that Age, to the end that if the like causes of fear be now apparent, the like remedies may be applied. Then was *France* to be feared, because there was no Civil War in *France*; Now *Spain* must be suspected, because *Spain* is quiet and at peace within it self; all the Lords and Peers of *France* were then obedient unto their king, and are they not so in *Spain*? The French king was then in League with *England* and *Germany*; and is not the Spaniard allied unto many Foreign Princes? The king of *Navar* a Vassal of *France*, ruled all things then in *Spain*, because he was Tutor unto the young king; and doth not *Spain* now sway and rule a great part of *France*, by reason of the League betwixt him and the unnatural Rebels thereof? *Sicily* was then subject unto *Charles* the French kings Uncle; and now both *Sicily* and *Naples* are under the Spaniard. The same *Charles* was of great authority in *Rome*; he was Lieutenant General unto the Empire, and under that Title either commanded by force, or prevailed by authority through all *Italy*. And hath not the Spaniard as great authority there at this present as he had then? The face and countenance of both times are alike; the Remedies therefore should be such now as they were then. Then the Pope weakened the credit and authority that *Charles* had in *Rome*; the Pope must do like to the Spaniard now. Then was the Title of Lieutenant General taken from *Charles*; Now should all helping Titles be likewise taken from *Spain*. Then was the Pope determined to make two kings in *Italy*; the one in *Lombardy*, and the other in *Tuskany*, and both of the House of *Ursim*, of which he was the chief and principal branch; And if the like device were now practised, undoubtedly the Great Duke of *Florence*, and some other Potentates of *Italy*, upon whom the most should agree, would accept the Title of kings, and be able both for their wealth and their might, to maintain the same with credit and reputation. Then was *Phaleologo* Emperor of *Constantinople* incensed and encouraged to war upon the Sicilian king; now there would want no sufficient reasons to move the French king to do the like against the Spaniard. Then upon suddain were all the Frenchmen either slain in *Sicily* or driven thence; and now might all the Spaniards be either murdered (which were somewhat too bloody and cruel an action) or removed by main force from *Naples* and *Sicily*, which would be a general benefit and comfort unto all *Italy*. But *Italy* of it self is not able to do all this, what then shall it avail to intend and purpose this? *Italy* must then be strengthened and holpen, lest it fall in doing this. But how shall *Italy* be assisted? Forsooth by an imitation of the Princes which lived in *Charles* the fifth his time, and envied his greatness. Forsooth, when they saw that he had by subtilty and corruption obtained the Empire, and that what with the vigour of his youth, what with the reputation of his might and strength, he was so puffed up with pride, that he intended to make himself Monarch of all the world; all the Princes of *Christendom* fearing his over-growing greatness, began to consult and take advice how they might bridle his ambition, and hinder the proud and insolent projects of his aspiring and imperious minde. But the Princes of *Germany*, who had greatest occasion to fear him most, were the first that bended all their thoughts, and all their cogitations to move the rest of the Princes and Potentates of *Europe* to joyn with them in League and Amity against him: Then were there sent Ambassadors unto the King of *England*,
France.

France and Denmark: Then were there Letters written unto the Switzers: Then were Letters dispatched to the Duke and Seigniorie of *Venice* to desire help against the Emperor, and to distract the Venetians from the League of Amity which they had with him, and to inreat both the Venetians and the Switzers, not to suffer any Forces to pass by their Dominions which should be sent out of *Italy* unto *Cesar*. Then did as many Princes as were not in League with the Emperor, shew themselves forward in this honourable Action; and those who for their Leagues sake could not openly assist the Confederates against *Cesar*, exhorted others to joyn with them against him; and to make them more able and willing to enter into the action, they lent or paid them great sums of money which they owed unto them. Then, since it behoveth Princes in wisdom and policy to keep their next neighbours as weak as they may; since the Spaniard before the king of *France* changed his Religion, pretended to war against him for no other cause, but to inforce him thereunto; and now continueth his Wars and aiding his Rebels, although the French king is of himself become a Catholick, which proveth manifestly, that it was not Religion, but ambition that moved him to aid and assist those Rebels; since it is apparent to the World, that he onely disturbeth (as I have said) the peace and quietness of all the world, and causeth the Turk to insult as he doth upon Christian Princes; since both *Otho* the Third, and *Conrad* the Emperors Laws injoyn all Princes (as it hath been shewed upon other occasion) to bend their Forces, and to bandy themselves with main might against such a Prince, and such a disturber of common peace as the Spaniard is, I see no reason why the Princes of Christendom, as well Friends as Foes unto him, should not all joyntly, and with one consent, inforce him to contain himself within his bounds and limits, and to succour and assist him against the common Adversary of Christian Religion, who of late hath given the Christians no small overthrow. The Popes of *Rome* were wont, when Christendom stood in no greater danger of the Turk, then it doth at this present, to send their Ambassadors from Prince to Prince, to reconcile them if they were at variance, and to exhort them to imploy the uttermost of their powers against the professed Enemy of Christendom. It is written that *Paulus Tertius*, a Pope that was ninety years old when he departed this world, not long before he died, considering the great danger and peril that was likely to fall upon *Christendom*, by reason of the pride and ambition of the great Turk, and the unnatural discord and dissention that was betwixt *Francis* the first and *Charles* the fifth, sent his own Nephew the Cardinal *Fernese* unto them to make a friendly composition and agreement betwixt them. The like Atonement might the present Pope make betwixt the French king and the Spaniard; who hath now no other pretence to fight against *France*, but that the king thereof, although he is become a Catholick, yet he remains Excommunicate; a pretence both vain and frivolous, because the kings of *France* and the Peers thereof, and also all his Officers, cannot be lawfully excommunicated by the Pope, as it may appear by the priviledges granted unto divers kings of *France* by many Popes: as namely, by *Martin* the third and fourth, *Gregory* the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh, *Alexander* the fourth, *Clement* the fourth and fifth, *Nicholas* the third, *Urban* the fifth, and *Boniface* the twelfth; The which Priviledges are to be seen in the Treasury where the kings Charters are usually kept: And when the Pope shall interpose his Authority, many other Princes shall likewise labour to make them friends,

as of late years the King of *Denmark*, was a Mediator of peace betwixt him and our gracious Sovereign. And if when this motion shall be made unto him, he will neither regard the Authority of the Intercessors, nor respect the manifest eminent danger of Christendom, but still continue and follow his ambitious nature and unchristian course; then will it be a fit and convenient time to implore and imploym the aid and assistance of his near and dearest friends against him; then because kinsmen forsake even the next of their own blood, when they will not yeeld unto reason, and friends many times fall unto variance when they are put in mind of old quarrels, and ancient injuries; it will not be amiss to revive the memory of old and new wrongs and indignities, offered by the house of *Austria* unto their Neighbours, their Allies, their Kinsmen, their Friends, and other Princes that now either fear or favour them; Then would it be shewed, that all the Emperors and Princes of that Family have neither regarded consanguinity of blood, or alliance of Friendship, nor the wealth of their Subjects, nor the bonds of Equity and Reason; but have always preferred their private gain before the Commonweal, their own interest before their kinsmens and Friends commodity and advantage, their own will and pleasure before all Law and Justice; briefly, their subtil devices and deceits before plain dealing and sincerity.

Then, to begin with the infancy of their Family, it would be made known, that when they were but poor Counts of *Hapsburg*, they encroached upon their Neighbours, they wronged and oppressed the simple and well-meaning Switzers, over whom they tyrannized so long, that at length by common consent, and by a general Revolt against them, both they and their Officers were violently driven out of the Country.

Then would it be declared that *Rodolph* the first Emperor of their House, obtained the Empire by plain deceit and cunning; and so carried himself therein, that he sought his own commodity more then the wealth of the Empire, and shewed many evident signs and arguments of loathsome and detestable ingratitude. For, whenas the Empire had been void almost twenty years, and divers Competitors affected the same, as *Henry* of *Thyringia*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, *Alphon* King of *Castile*, and *Richard*, Brother unto the King of *England*; and all those Corrivals had almost wasted themselves and their friends in seeking for the place, and in maintaining themselves therein: The Electors being over-wearièd with the length and troubles of this tedious Competency, sent *Comrade* Archbishop of *Coruge* unto *Othagarius* King of *Bohemia*, to pray him to accept the Empire; but he thinking himself not sufficient enough to rule his own Kingdoms, refused their offer; and they in disdain of him, presently made choice of this *Rodolph*, who had been the Master of his Palace, and had learned divers Feats of Chivalry under him; in regard of which experience, the Electors as some men write, yeelded him their consent: But others report, that after that, for his ingratitude and evil demeanor, he was put out of *Othagarius* his service, he followed the Arch-bishop of *Ments*, and attended so diligently upon him in the Journey which he made unto *Rome*, that when he returned thence he made him Emperor, although he was then of a very mean living, as *Albertus Argentinesis*, *Johannes Visudarus*,

Rotridano Moleſpini, *Giovani Villani*, and *Aeneas Sylvius* (who was afterwards Pope *Pius* the Second) with many others do teſtifie. And it is written that the ſame Arch biſhop, bragging many times with his friends in ſecret conference, what a great deed he had done to make to mean a man Emperor, would ſay unto them merrily, that he carried an Emperor behinde him in his riding Hood when he travelled by the way.

You have heard how he came to the Empire; now let me tell you how he demeaned himſelf therein. The firſt thing he did wiſely, conſidering his own weakneſs, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the German Princes; and whether it were to pleaſe them, who were ſomewhat offended with *Othagar* King of *Bohemia*, becauſe they thought he diſdained to be Emperor, or to ſhew himſelf grateful where he had received great favour and courteſie, he preſently ſummoned his Maſter *Othagar* to come to do him homage for his Kingdom. *Othagar* conſidering both the Meſſage and the Meſſenger, and taking him for a proud ſervant, who being unworthily advanced, would begin to ſhew his pride againſt his Maſter, reſuſed to appear at his ſummons; *Rodolph* preſently in regard of this contempt, invaded the Dukedom of *Austria*, and forfeited the ſame unto the Empire. *Othagar* being highly offended with the conſiſcation, denounceth Wars againſt the Emperor. By the interceſſion of friends they met at a place appointed; And there *Rodolph*, diſſembling cunningly his pride and inſolency, goeth firſt to ſalute *Othagar*, calleth him his Lord and Maſter, thanking him for vouchſaſing to end their contention by a friendly compoſition, rather then by bloody Wars; maketh a marriage between his Daughter and *Venceſlaus* the Son and Heir of *Othagar*; and then with a fair ſhew of aſſured and faithful friendſhip, prayeth him to vouchſafe, if not openly, becauſe perhaps he would be aſhamed to do it, yet ſecretly and within his Royal Tent, to do him Homage for his Kingdom and Principalities. The King won with fair words, yeeldeth to his demands, offereth up unto him five ſeveral Banners, whereof the Emperor reſtoreth unto him onely two, and detaineth the other three, one for *Austria*, another for *Corinthia*, and the third for *Syria*; and paciſieth the King who was greatly offended therewith, by promiſing faithfully to reſtore them unto his Son *Venceſlaus*, as ſoon as the Marriage betwixt him and his Daughter ſhall be ſolemnized.

To this deceit and cunning he addeth a worſe deſpight and contumely; For having intreated to do him Homage ſecretly, and within a Tent, he cauſed a deceitful Tent to be made, the which ſhould fall open as ſoon as the cords thereof were unlooſed. In this Tent *Othagar* falleth down on his knees, and ſuddenly whiſt he is doing Homage, the Tent falleth open; the Germans laugh at his humility; the Bohemians are grieved with his ſubmiſſion; and he himſelf is highly diſpleaſed with the Emperors deceit: And his grief is increaſed becauſe his Wife ſcorned and mocked him at his return. To be ſhort, he prepareth all the Forces that he could poſſibly make, and reneweth War againſt the Emperor: The Emperor that whiſt he had been his ſervant remembered that *Othagar* had given great occaſion of diſcontentment unto the great Captain of *Morona*, called *Milota*, him he putteth in mind of an old injury; and

and so prevailed, what with bribes, and what with perswasions, that in the very conflict, he forsaketh his Master, and leaveth him to be murdered of two Brethren, whose third Brother *Othogar* had caused to be executed, for some offence worthy of death.

The king being thus slain, he rewardeth both the Traitor and the murderers, and following his victory, burneth a number of Monasteries and Religious houses that *Othogar* had builded: A rare and strange Pefident; For it is abominable in a servant to betray his Master; more abominable to cause him to be murdered; and of all abominable things the most abominable to reward the Traitors, and recompence the murderers: But to burn Religious houses in despight of the Founder, and to spoil Gods Temple in hatred of a man, is an act the like whereof hath never been found but in such as neither care for God nor regard his service.

Neither did *Rodolphs* wickedness end in these hainous Actions, but he wrongfully warred upon *Bemera*, unjustly invaded *Bohemia*, unlawfully seised upon *Austria*, and most cruelly burnt above threescore very fair and beaut full Castles in *Turingia*.

Rodolph having reigned as Emperor nineteen years, and in all this time never vouchsafed to set one foot towards *Italy*, to be crowned there of the Pope (which negligence in those dayes was held for a most hainous offence) departed the World, and leaveth his son *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, who in disdain of the French king, within 6 years after is made Emperor, and imitateth his Father in his bloody cruelty: For he beginneth his Empire with killing *Adolph* his Predecessor, continueth the same with the wrongfull molestation and usurpation of *Mayeme*, dishonoureth his Reign with a violent and forcible seisure into his hands, and to his sons use, of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and endeth the same, not by a natural, but by a violent and unnatural death: For it pleased God, that his own Nephew, and other Earls of the House of *Austria* should by taking him, revenge the wicked and detestable murder which he committed on the sacred person of *Adolph* the Emperor.

Frederick Duke of *Austria* was the third Emperor of this House; if he may be called an Emperor, who being unlawfully chosen, wrongfully usurped the Empire. For the Bishop of *Trevers* and *Mensis*, and the Marques of *Brandenburgh*, together with *John* king of *Bohemia*, chose *Lewis* of *Bamera* Emperor, and *Frederick* had the voices and suffrages of the Bishop of *Calen*, of the County Palatine, and of the Duke of *Saxony*; whose Election was of no force, because when the six principal Electors cannot agree, but three of them are for one, and three of them are for another, the king of *Bohemia* as Umpier, determineth the matter, and he casteth his voice upon the said *Lewis*, and made him lawfull Emperor. But *Frederick* according to the ambitious and violent nature of his proud Family, pursued his pretensive right by bloody wars, and drew the Pope, the kings of *France*, and of *Hungary*, the County Palatine, *Strasbourg*, and other Imperial Cities, to stand stout and obstinate in the defence of his quarrel, wherein many thousands were slain, and many more had been murdered, had not the Almighty (who alwayes favoureth just causes) vouchsafed to give the Emperor *Lewis* grace to take him prisoner in the Field; After which disgrace, he and his Family had been for ever been undone, had not the good Emperor been so gracious unto him, as after three

years imprisonment to set him at Liberty, and to restore unto him the Dukedom of *Austria*, the which he might have returned with more reason unto the Empire, then *Rodolph* had to distract it from the Empire.

The fourth Emperor of this Family was *Albert* the second, who married the daughter and heir of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and had with her in Dower, the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*: This Emperor ruled scant Two years, and therefore did not any good or bad exploit worthy of memory.

The fifth Emperor of this Family was *Frederick* the third, whose Government was such, that his own Subjects with the help of his own Brother *Albert*, besieged him a long time in the Castle of *Vienna*; where they had taken him prisoner, had not *George* king of *Bohemia* delivered him by deceit and cunning, rather then by strength and fortitude; For although he came to *Vienna* with an Army of eight thousand good Souldiers, yet was not this Force able to succour him, but he was fain to play the Umpier betwixt him and his Citizens, and so under a colour of conference called him, his wife and his son forth of the Town, and when he had cunningly set them at Liberty, he conveyed them secretly unto a place of security.

This Emperor to prosecute a Bishop which was deposed by the Pope, raised such troubles in *Germany*, that the Princes thereof were not able to succour the Emperor *Constantine* of *Constantinople*, whom the great Turk *Mahomet* drove from his Imperial City, caused him to be slain before the gates thereof, set his head upon a Lance, and commanded it to be carried about the City; his wife, daughters, and many other Ladies and Gentlewomen, were invited to a banquet, after which they were all deflowred, and then cut into small pieces, as flesh to the pot. And lastly, in despite of Christ and all Christians, he caused the Picture of our Saviour to be set up in the Town, with this Inscription, *Behold the Saviour of the Christians that could not save them!* Immediately after *Frederick* succeeded *Maximilian*, and after him *Charles* the fifth, his grand-childe; of which two I have already said enough, and might say much more to make them more hatefull, but I should be too long and over-tedious; And yet I may not forget three notable Arguments of *Charles* the fifths dissembling, and of his turbulent nature and conditions.

The First sheweth that he pretended to be a zealous Catholick, and was indeed no better then a dissembling Hypocrite.

The second proveth, that although he shewed an outward desire of peace, yet he cared not what occasions he took to make war.

The third declareth, that albeit he would seem to love *Germany*, as the Nation from whence all his greatness proceeded, yet he sought the advancement of *Spain* more then of *Germany*, or of his own Family or House of *Austria*.

The first point is proved, because that having obtained of *Leo* the tenth great sums of money, and ten thousand well appointed Souldiers, in regard of his faithfull promise to subvert and utterly overthrow the Lutherans of *Germany*, as soon as he had with those men and that money fully revenged himself upon certain Princes of *Germany*, with whom he was highly offended, and whom he had never subdued, had he not had the Popes help, he gave over

over his wars, and granted both unto them and all others liberty of conscience; wherewith not only the Pope had just occasion to be displeased, but his own Confessor took it so grievously, that the next time he came to Confession, he denied him Absolution.

This zealous Christian, when he had troubled *Italy*, with long and tedious wars, not meaning (as it seemed) to end the same wars without doing some notable action, worthy of eternal memory, took the Pope prisoner at *Rome*, and kept him a long time in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. And although he would not suffer him to be set at Liberty before he had paid a great Ransom, yet he dissembled and handled the matter so cunningly, that he caused publick Praises and Supplications to be made unto God generally throughout all *Spain* for the delivery of this Holy Father, and protested openly unto the World, that his unruly Souldiers, full fore against his will and pleasure, being in great distress of money and other necessary provision, had sacked *Rome*, and imprisoned the Popes Holiness.

The second point shall need no other proof but his great malice, and continual spight, notwithstanding that the Princes of *France* were in some manner the onely and special cause of his greatness: For had not *Lewis* the eleventh with great cunning & policy weakned the last Duke of *Burgundy*; had he not most wisely and providently nourished the wars betwixt him and the Switzers; had he not covetously and carelessly set him at variance with the Duke of *Lorrain*; and lastly, had he not secretly & privily won *Nicholas Campobasso* to leave the said Duke in the midst of the battel, which he fought with the Prince of *Lorain* (a practice not to be forgotten against the Spaniard) valiant *Charles* of *Burgundy* had never been slain in the Field, nor the troublesome *Maximilian* should ever have inherited his Dukedom by marrying with his daughter. How fought he continually to perturb and disquiet the peace thereof? Which side left he unassaulted? Which way to enter into *France* untried? And what cause had he to disquiet *France*, especially after that he had taken the king thereof prisoner, and made him yeeld unto all unreasonable demands? It is written that many times entering into a serious cogitation of the great slaughters that had been committed in *France* by him and his Souldiers, of the great wrong that he had done to the good and vertuous Kings thereof; and of the simple and weak causes that moved him thereunto, he was often and greatly troubled in his Conscience, and sometimes sought peace of himself; and yet the wicked spirit overcoming the good inclination that sometimes guided him, he returned presently and without any just occasion unto wars.

The last point is proved by a Diet and a general Assembly of the States of *Germany*, which he held at *Auspurge*, under a colour to reform and order divers abuses in Religion; unto which Diet many great Princes of *Germany* would not vouchsafe to come, because they knew certainly, that the reformation of Religion was but the pretence and colour of keeping that Diet; but the very end and purpose thereof was to reverse the order of the Election of the Emperors, and to transfer the Empire from *Germany* unto *Spain*: The which his intention was afterwards so apparent, that although in regard of his brotherly love, and during the minority of his son, he had caused *Ferdinando* his brother

to be elected King of the Romans, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly, to perswade him to relinquish and resign that Title unto his Son *Philip*, now and then King of *Spain*; and also he sent for *Maximilian* his Son in Law, and Nephew, King of *Bohemia*, to pray him to be content to condescend and yeeld unto his Fathers resignation; and the Queen of *Hungary*, and *Gravilla* the Emperors Chancellor made many Voyages into *Hungary*, to intreat *Ferdinando* to yeeld unto this motion, unto which neither the King of *Hungary* nor *Maximilian* his Son would vouchsafe their consents.

These three points being thus cleared, it resteth to speak somewhat of *Charls* the Fifths Successors, as *Ferdinando*, *Maximilian* and *Rodolph*; but their actions are fresh in memory. And if the Law of the Emperors Creation (called the Golden Bull) which expressly forbiddeth to chuse above four in one house, to succeed one after another in the Empire, were (as it should be) in full force and strength, none of them should be accounted or held lawful Emperors. Now if the breach of this sacred and inviolable decree (I mean the golden Bull) which hath been infringed by making not four, but seven or eight at the least of the House of *Austria* Emperors together, shall nothing at all incense and instigate the Princes of Christendom against this ambitious and aspiring generation;

It shall be needful to revive the loathsome memory of many great and grievous indignities and ingratitude unkindly and unjustly shewed by the late Emperors of the house of *Austria*, unto divers great and mighty Princes of Germany, and unto the Empire it self. It must therefore be shewed unto them, that *Rodolph* the first Emperor of this Race, to assure unto himself and his Heirs the Dukedom of *Austria*, and the States of *Stiria* and *Suevia* (which were united unto the Empire for fault of Heirs Males) resigned the Exerchar of *Italy* unto the Pope, and freed as many Cities of *Italy* from the homage and obedience which they owed unto the Emperors, as would buy their freedom and liberty of him for ready money. Albeit his Son when he was Emperor, fought many Battels and got many Towns with the Forces and Expences of the Empire, but reserved all the profit arising by those Battels to his proper use; and to have better and more easie entrance into *Bilencia*, he usurped the State of the Marques of *Mezia*. And *Albert* the Second enriched himself greatly, although he ruled not long by troubles and divisions. Is it not the House of *Austria* that hath wrongfully deprived many Princes, and divers Electors of the Empire of their States and Dignities? Is it not this house that hath unjustly compelled the greatest Princes of Germany to flie for succour, and to seek the protection of the French King? Is it not this House that hath unlawfully confiscated the States and Dignities of *John Fredrick*, Duke of *Saxony*? Is it not this House that hath most cruelly razed the Walls and destroyed the Forts of the most noble and vertuous Prince the Lantgrave of *Hesse*? Is it not this House that hath violently sacked, destroyed and utterly overthrown the great and goodly Dukedom of *Wittenberge*? Is it not this House, that contrary to all humanity hath confiscated the greatest part of the Duke of *Cleure* his goods, and made him too deer for a Wife that brought

brought him Dowry? Is it not this House that, to make the Princes of Germany their Servants and Slaves, have contrary to the Laws of the Empire, erected a new Council in the City of *Spires*? Briefly, Is it not this House that useth them most unkindly of whom they have received most Curtesie? Have they ever had greater aid, greater helps of any Princes of the Empire then of the Duke of *Saxony*? Who sought for *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, against *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria* more willingly and valiantly then *Rodolph* Duke of *Saxony*? *Ernest* Duke of *Saxony* was the only cause and means that *Maximilian* was chosen Emperor. And *John* Duke of *Saxony* went unto the Assault of *Abas* in *Hungary*, and never departed thence until he made *Maximilian* Lord and Master of the whole Country. *Frederick* of *Saxony* refused the Empire when it was offered unto him, and procured it to be given unto *Charles* the Fifth; And yet the same *Charles* omitted no Art, no cunning, no way, nor means, that he could possibly devise to subvert and ruinate the House of *Saxony*. He set up *Maurice* and *Agust* his Brother against *John Frederick*; And *Maximilian* stirred up the Sons of *John Frederick* one against another. *Rodolph* Count Palatine bore armes in the behalf of *Frederick* of *Austria* against his own brother *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Frederick* Count Palatine, who was Recommended for this pleasure by *Frederick* the Third, who procured all the States and Princes of the Empire to be his mortall Enemies. Briefly, who favoured and furthered the Election of the last *Maximilian* so much as *Frederick* Count Palatine? And yet not long after he gave so hard a sentence against him at *Auspurghe*, that all the Princes of the Empire reversed the same in his Presence. Now to speak of the Spanish Kings abuses towards the Princes of Germany and others, were infinite labour, and either that which I have already said is sufficient to cause him to be generally hated, or the late Apologies of the Prince of *Aurange*, of the State of the Low Countries, of the now King of *France*, of *Don Antonio* and of others, will supply whatsoever I, either for modestie or for brevitiesake forbear to discover.

Then to conclude this point, If *France* might be moved to set on Foot for the Kingdome of *Navarre*, the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, and all or part of the Lowcountries: If the Pope might be intreated to bestow the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily* upon some Prince of worth and estimation; If the *Venetians* and other Princes of *Italy* would be content to divide and share the Dukedom of *Milan* betwixt them; If the States and Princes of the Empire would be pleased to reconcile the Kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, with the Dukedom of *Austria*, unto the Empire: If the Duke of *Parma* or *Don Antonio* might be seated in *Portugall*: And lastly *England*, *Holland*, and other States and Princes, that are mighty upon the Seas, would either stop the Spaniards passage into the *Indies*, or intercept his Treasure when it cometh from thence, the proud and insolent House of *Austria* should quickly be reduced unto their old and pristine Estate; and the Princes of Christendome, when they should have no Adversary to fear, but the common Enemy of Christians, should undoubtedly live in great security, peace and Amity: For, then are Kingdomes most safe, when their Neighbours Forces and their own strength are not greatly

greatly unequal; And then should our English Island be the strongest and happiest Kingdom in Christendom.

But in taking this course it behooveth to be somewhat Circumspect, least that the overthrow and downfall of one terrible and mighty Adversary raise up another, who maybe in all respects as dangerous and as well to be feared as he. For, because *France* lieth neerer unto us then *Spain* (and *Vis unita* is alwaies held to be *Fortior*) if *France* should recover *Burgundy* and the Low Countries, should we not have great and just occasion to fear *France*? For neither may our happy victories against *France* encourage us not to esteem *France*, since it is no point of wisdom, not to fear the least Enemy that may be; nor the late benefits pleasures, and Offices of kindness shewed by us unto the late Kings thereof, can assure us that *France* will never endamage us.

I have already shewed the causes of our fortunate success against *France*; and if those causes should once begin to fail us, the good fortune which proceeded of them, would soon leave to follow us; and as well Princes as private men receive favours and courtesies readily, look upon their Benefactors unwillingly, remember good turns slowly, and requite received benefits faintly. Then because the fresh memory of new courtesies cannot extinguish the grievous and unpleasant remembrance of ancient quarrels, we must (as we have said) still have a very careful and watchful eye over *France*, and intreat *France* to be content to joyn with us in placing and preferring some such Prince unto the quiet and assured possession of the Low Countries, as may be well able with the help of us and *France* to retain the same, and yet unable to hurt us or *France*. Neither must the cross dealings of the late Duke of *Alencon* discourage us to attempt any such matter; for we saw that they whom he had handled somewhat unkindly, might easily have been persuaded to have received him again for their Duke. And there may a Prince be found that shall be less suspected, and more acceptable unto the *Flemings* then any French-man can be.

The Duke *Ernestus* who was lately sent to be their Governour, in my simple opinion seemeth to be a fit man for that purpose. For whereas the Spanish King of late would have bestowed the Infanta his Daughter upon him, it may easily be thought now that that hope faileth him, because he knoweth now where to find a fitter Husband for her then to march her with him, and to give him the Low Countries for her Dowry. But common fame reporteth, that there is an intent and purpose to marry her unto the French King, as well because he is now become a Catholick, as for that *France* and *Spain* have often matched together; and the Pope may easily be entreated to dispense with the French King to take her for his Wife. Truly it were hard to permit him to marry so near a Kinswoman as is his now living wives own Niece. But grant that the Popes dispensation may salve this sore, that the French King may forget the wrongs and indignities offered unto him by *Spain*; that this were a good and ready way to reconcile these Princes that have lived too long together in contention and variance, and that of this reconciliation there is likely to follow a great and general benefit unto all Christendom: Yet I can hardly think that the Spanish King would ever yeeld his consent unto such a Match; And though he would ever yeeld his

his consent thereto; yet it behoveth all the Princes of Christendom to hinder such a marriage. For if his Son should die (whose life is in Gods hands) should not all the Kingdoms and Dominions of the Spaniard, because there is no Law Salick in *Spain*, descend unto his Daughter? And would not the desired addition of all those unto the Kingdom of *France*, make the warlike and mighty Prince thereof, not onely to think upon, but also to attempt the Conquest of all *Europe*? Should he not grow too mighty? Should he not be able to Tyrannize over all the world; more then the Spaniard doth now? And then doth it not greatly import all Christian Princes to withstand this Marriage? Besides, grant that his son doth live to have many children, were it not a very unwise and indiscreet part of the Spanish King to give his Daughter in marriage unto such a one, as what for his old grudge unto *Spain*, what in regard of the Title and Interest that this wife may give him unto the Crown of *Spain*, will undoubtedly be content to take her for wife, were it for no other occasion but to have so good, just, and colourable a cause as her right, would give him, to challenge, invade, and conquer *Spain*? For the Prince of *Orange*, by noting the Spanish Kings son of Bastardy in his Apology, and by animating the French King to defend his Neece, right, who soever God should call her Father to his mercy, hath set open such a gap as will give a very easie entrance into the Kingdom of *Spain*, unto the Spanish Daughters ambitious nature, or unto his valiant minde (if there be any valour in him) who shall have her to wife.

The surest and safest way then for the Spaniard, is either to match her lowly, as *Austriages* did his Daughter, with some mean Prince, who shall not be able to hurt or prejudice his Son; or else to bestow her upon the said Duke *Ernestus*, who although he be her neer kinsman, and a Prince of no great living; yet because it is a matter very usual in the House of *Austria* to match in their own blood, and for that the Spaniard hath Kingdoms and Dominions enough to bestow upon her in marriage, neither the propinquity in blood, nor the want of living can be an obstacle unto the match; But it may be said, what shall it avail if she be married to the Duke *Ernestus*, and *Flanders* be her Dowry? Shall it not be all one? Will he not be at the devotion of his Father-in-law? And will it not be a means to make the Emperor more fast and assured unto *Spain*, and to carry the less love and affection unto us and our Friends? But I suppose the Empire shall be transferred unto some other Prince: and although it shall remain still in the House of *Austria*, yet I know he that shall be, or is Emperor, can have no great means to annoy us. Besides, we may finde many wayes to set a variance and separation betwixt the Father and the Son, and (when God shall have wrought his will and pleasure upon the Father) betwixt the Brother and the Sister. Were there ever more hot, and bloody wars betwixt us and *France*, then when the French Kings Sister was married unto our King? Or when our Kings Daughters have matched with *France*? Did not these marriages breed and bring forth the chiefeest causes of our most deadly contentions? And did not our and their profit and gain make us forget blood, affinity and Alliance? But if it shall seem dangerous to hazard our safety upon so weak an hope, it shall not be amiss to use all policy to procure such a match, and to cause her Dowry to be either

the Kingdom of *Naples* or of *Portugal*. For so shall his Sons power be weakened; his Daughter further off from us, and from *France*, and her ambition better satisfied with a kingdom then with a Title of Dutcheff; too base a name for so proud a woman, and such an one as hath lived a long time in equall credit with a Queen. And we finde that the desire of that *Charles* his wife (who of a Duke of *Anjou* was made and crowned King of *Naples*) to be a Queen was the chiefe and special cause her Husband entered into that quarrel; for his wife (who was descended of a King, and still lived among Queens) would never suffer him to be at quiet until he had made her Queen. There is no doubt but that the Princes of *Italy* could be very well content, that the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily* were in some such poor Princes possession, rather under the subjection of the sole heir of *Spain*, because he being a young Prince, and King of so many Dominions, will not perhaps be keep within his bounds as his old Father is; and they would easily finde means to hold such a Prince long enough, and to keep him from all kinde of ability to hurt and damnifie them. For experience hath taught them, that when *Naples* and *Sicily* were governed by a proper King, and he alwayes Resident amongst them, they lived not then in such danger, or in such fear as they have been since the French or the Spaniards were Masters of those Kingdoms. Duke *Ernestus* being placed thus far from us, the question would be, what Government would best content us in *Flanders*; whether it were best to have a Prince there; and if a Prince, what he should be; or else such a Government as is now amongst the United Provinces; and if such a Government, whether it were best to unite the rest of *Flanders* unto them that are already united. The questions are full of difficulty; and a man of far greater experience and wisdom then my self can hardly resolve them: And yet because this is my last task, I will, as I have done in the rest, adventure to commit my follies to your secrecy.

The pleasant and sweet Government under the States of the United Provinces, The consideration of their Subjects quiet and welfare, The regard of their wealth, The credit whereunto they are grown, The account that their Neighbours make of them, The free Traffique which they have with Forreign nations, The recourse of Strangers unto them, The beauty and increase of their Cities, lately enlarged and beautified, and their strength being (as I have once said already) almost comparable unto the power of mighty Princes, might easily induce them to consent to make one Common-wealth of all the seventeen Provinces. But if they should all joyne in one Form of Government, it were greatly to be doubted that they would grow so mighty in time, that their might would make them ambitious, and their ambition desirous to encroach upon their Neighbours; who with the same and good of their great ease and prosperity, would happily be content to shake off their Kings, and live under their wings and protection. Was it not the common report of the Romans good Government that made Forreign Nations desirous to be subject unto them? Was it not the incorporating of those Nations into their own Cities, and their permitting of them to enjoy the like Priviledges and Liberties as the Romans enjoyed, that drew other

other people to follow the example of those Nations? Was it not then seen, and may it not be seen again, that the less Cities imitated the greater, and whether the first inclined, thither the last repaired? Is it not generally said, that two eyes see more then one? And do not many Councillors consult and resolve upon any thing better then a few? and is it not true that it is not the Clymate or the Region that onely maketh men wise? The Spaniard is wiser then the Frenchman, the Florentines of a quicker wit and judgment then the Venetian; and yet when the light-headed Frenchman beginneth once to be staid, he is nothing inferior to the wise Spaniard; and the Venetians when they consult upon matters of weight, resolve them not so soon, but better then the Florentines. The reason whereof is given by *Bodin*; because the first trusting too much to the dexterity of their wits, dwell obstinate in their first conceived opinions, and sometimes will not yeeld unto the soundest judgments, because they proceed from them who are either their enemies, or in their opinions not worthy to be repured wiser then they; whereas the later, distrusting every man his own judgement, and examining soundly and with great deliberation all the reasons that may be alleadged *pro & con* in any matter whatsoever, after long conference and consultation, conclude upon the best and wisest resolution. Is it not this proved in the States of the United Provinces; especially in the Hollanders, who until of late years were commonly called by the Flemings *The Blockish and hard-headed Hollanders*, and now they are grown equal to the wisest Flemings, Italians, French, or Spaniards? Court they not Princes that were wont onely to live by the transporting of commodities of their Island into *England* and other places? Have they not their Agents in Princes Courts, who in many years would not presume to look upon a Court, and knew not how to behave themselves when they came thither? Have they not learned the means and ways to insinuate themselves into Princes favours, and continue themselves therein, who not long ago cared for no Princes favour, but for one Kings good will and countenance? Sent they not their Ambassadors unto the Christening of the Scottish Prince? Gave they not their Present as well as others, and within it a yearly Pension unto the young Prince, to be paid unto him yearly out of the rents of one of their Towns? Have they not discovered a shorter way to the *Indies*? and will they not take and make a benefit by the discovery? Do they not daily encrease their Revenues? Do not their Subjects that were wont to guide a Boat, and govern an Oar, now manage a Lance, and handle a weapon as well as other Nations? Do not the better sort amongst them, who heretofore never medled with matters of State, match the wisest Politicians in Counsel, and the best Statesmen of the world in their writings? And to be brief, is it not likely, that if they proceed as they have begun, they will in time grow too strong, and exceed the Seigniorie of *Venice*, the which if it be not assisted by other Princes of Christendom, standeth in great danger to become a prey unto the Turk? I have once already said it, and cannot say it too often; *God grant that all the Princes of Christendom, yea the Child that is unborn, have not just occasion one day to curse the King of Spain for enforcing the States to know and use their strength.*

Let us remember the weakness of the Switzers, and call to minde upon what occasion they began to encanton themselves; how base men they were that were the first Authors thereof; how *Stansfasher Gualter* first, and *Arnold Melthdiall* detesting the unsupportable Tyranny of the Governor *Greisfeir*, drew first divers Gentlemen, and then the inhabitants of a few Towns to conspire the death of their Governour, and the banishment of all the Officers set over them by the house of *Austria*; how they beat down to the ground all their Castles; how they perswaded the Towns of *Sinty*, *Ury*, and *Underwald* to free and emancipate themselves from the Thralldom and Bondage wherein they lived under the house of *Austria*; How after this association others entred into League with them, and briefly, how after their general confederacy, they lived many years contented with their own, and scant knew what wealth meant: Was it not wonderous that after the notable victory which they had at *Grason* against *Charles* Duke of *Burgondy*, they knew not the worth or value of the goods that came to their hands? Will any man beleeve that they should tear into a Thousand pieces the fairest pavilion that ever was seen in the world? May it be credited that they sold great dishes and platters of clean Silver, thinking that they had been of Tin, for six pence a piece? Will it not seem incredible that the fairest Diamond that was in those dayes in the world, and had a very great and rich pearl hanging thereat, was sold unto a Priest for a *Florin*, and that he sent it unto their chief Governor, who gave him but three Franks, which is a French Crown, for the same? And to what reputation are these people now grown? Are they not held the best Pikemen of the world? Do not the greatest Princes of *Europe* seek their Amity and alliance? Strive they not who shall first entertain them, and continue longest in league with them? Have they not more liberty in *Italy* then any nation whatsoever? Are not the Grisons their Confederates, free from the Inquisition, a freedom not granted unto any Nation but unto them? Was there not a time when a King of *France*, for calling them base people, was forsaken by them, and made a prey unto his Enemies? Did they not in revenge of that disdainfull word, make a Road into his Country? and had they not come unto the walls of *Paris*, if they had not been intreated and hired for great Rewards to return into their Country? Who can desire a more notable and worthy example of valour and fortitude, then they shewed in *Navar* in *Italy*, where they being in a strong City, and not needing to make any sally out, they came forth upon the French that lay before the Town, went proudly and without fear, upon the fearfull and terrible mouthes of their greatest Artillery, took the same and bended it upon their Enemies, whom with the onely help thereof, they put to a most shamefull flight, and to the edges of their unmercifull swords? When we remember these men, and enter into cogitation of the premisses, we must justly fear that the *Hollanders* and their Adherents may one day have the like mindes and the like fortune; And if they should chance to grow to the like greatness, be it of minde or of fortune, let us consider what advantage they shall have of Princes, Even the same advantage which *Titus Livius* mentioneth in the comparison which he maketh betwixt *Alexander* the Great and the Romans. For they have many *Alexanders*, whereas a Kingdom should have but one; and with this ones death his whole State should

should be endangered; whereas the losse of some of their *Alexanders* shall not endanger their State; and Kingdoms Enterprises shall perish with their King, and their Attempts shall be performed by their surviving *Alexanders*; Briefly, the Kings posterity shall not resemble him, and their Successors shall rather excel then not imitate them.

*A notable Compari-
son between a monarch
and a Com. Wealth*

Thus to have all the Low-Countries governed by a few States, or by one Prince, wholly depending upon the King of *Spain*, were in one and the same measure dangerous; and therefore it were convenient for us in wisdom and policy, to erect and establish such a Prince as should neither altogether depend upon *France*, nor be wholly devoted unto *Spain*; or else to divide the seventeen Provinces into divers several Cantons, and to nourish continually a diversity of opinions and Religions amongst them; whereby some of them being led to affect us, and others to favour Princes of their Religion, they shall be neither holpen nor hurt by them more then we, nor we more then they.

Besides, Experience yeeldeth us this comfort, that as long as we shall entertain a free and loving ~~and~~ intercourse of Trade and Traffique with them, whereby their people may be enriched, their Cities frequented, and their several Artificers maintained and nourished, so long may we be assured of their fast Friendship and Amity. For if, when as that notable contention and competency for the Crown of *France* was between *Edward* the third, and *Philip de Valois*, although *Lewis* the Earl of *Flanders* favoured the French King, because he was his Vassal, yet the Common people affected and furthered our Kings claim and quarrel, and would not be drawn from us by any manner of whatsoever perswasion; why may we not hope to finde the like affection in them even against their Sovereign, if we should have the like occasion to use their furtherance? For as then many of their Towns standing wholly upon the Trade of wooll, with which their Diers, Fullers, and other such Artificers were maintained, they would not leave us to lean to their Prince, because if our King should not have sent thither our wools, they knew not how to live, and for that *France* was not able to hurt them so much as *England* could do both by Sea and by Land; so now if they should want such Commodities any long time, as we send over unto them; although they be now far stronger by Sea then they were then; yet either the regard of profit, or the fear of discommodity and hurt that might arise unto them by the discord betwixt us and them, would cause them to stand fast and assured unto us, rather then unto our Enemies; especially if we shall entertain some such faithfull friends unto us amongst the common people, as were the before mentioned *Arteveld*, *Boscanus*, *Agricola*, and others.

Thus *Spain* being weakned, and the Low-Countries, either all, or the most part thereof well-affected unto us, we shall stand in less danger and fear of *France*, whose troubles and divisions, although they begin now somewhat to cease; yet I fear me, that when they are once utterly extinguished, they will be quickly revived again: For as fire being but covered over with ashes, and not throughly put out, is soon kindled again; so reconciled friends, the causes of their former contentions not being wholly removed

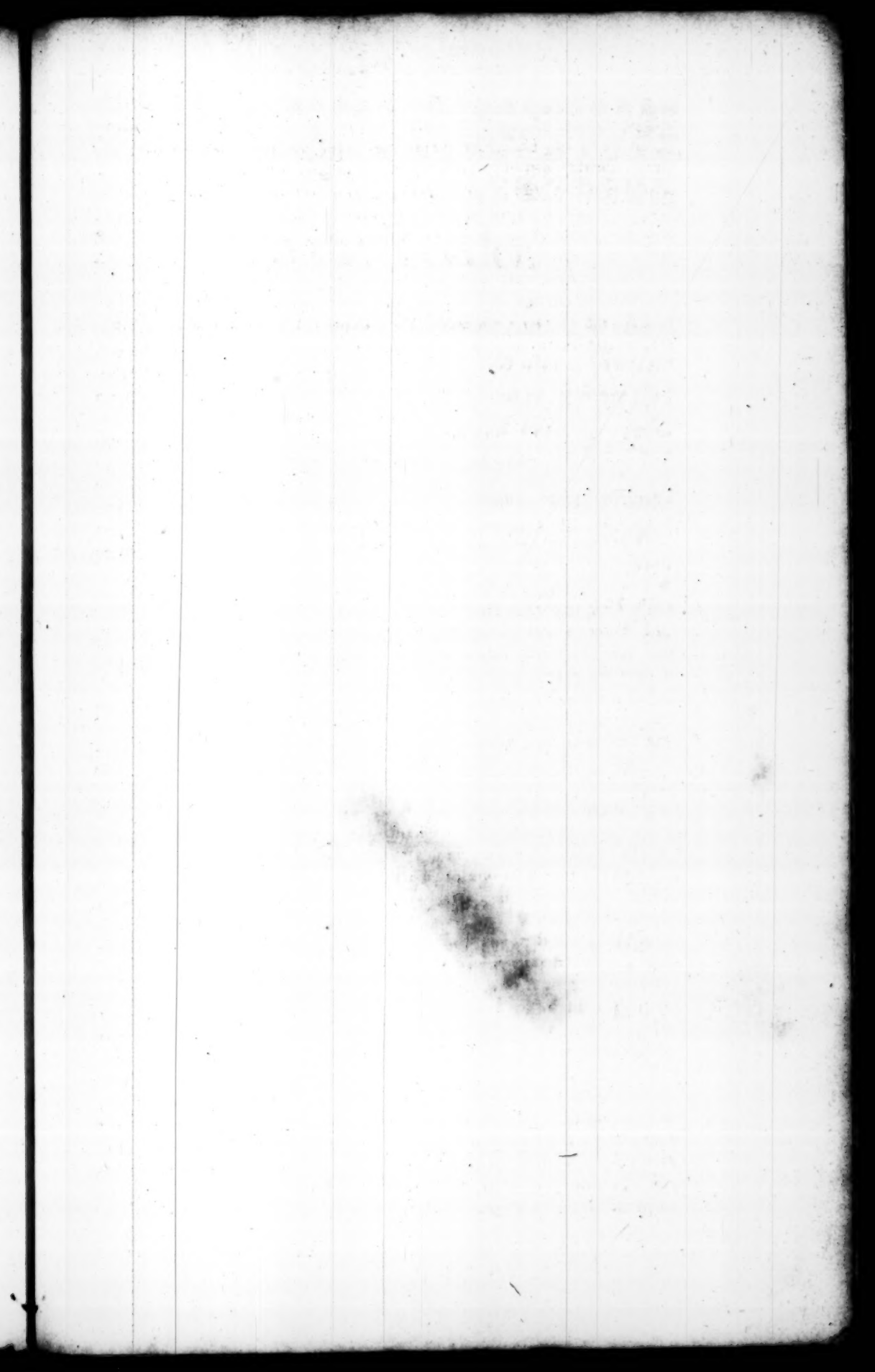
moved; upon very light occasions fall again to strife and variance. The experience thereof was seen in the Reign of *Henry* the third of *England*, and in the time of *Lewis Menervensis* Earl of *Flanders*, whose Nobility and Subjects were often reconciled unto them, and yet returned to their former disobedience and discontentment.

And *France* in my simple opinion, although the King that now reigneth; and his discontented Subjects were never so well reconciled, would quickly return again into Civil Dissentions. For the King being most honest, frank, open-hearted, free-minded, sometimes somewhat hasty, so earnest of that which is laid before him, that he hath less regard of that which is passed, and also unto that which he must follow; and lastly, so much presuming upon his good hap and fortune, that he can neither conceive, nor careth to prevent far fetched practises; these his conditions will easily renew some occasions of discontentment, even perhaps in his best and his most loving Subjects; Every man that hath deserved little, will demand much, when his Kingdom is frank and free; And will it not be impossible to content all that shall and will beg of him? An open-hearted man cannot dissemble his grief, nor conceal an injury; and is it not likely that he shall have many griefs, many injuries offered him? An hasty man never wanteth wo; and doubtless he shall have many occasions to shew himself hasty: And then if he shall either neglect that which he ought to follow, or not be carefull to prevent such practises as may be devised against him; he that hath but one Eye may see that he cannot long continue in Peace and Amity with such Subjects as shall be still encouraged by other Foreign Potentates to rebel against him; And that which hath been said already maketh it most manifest, that his Subjects shall not want this encouragement.

Thus have I satisfied your Request in every point that it pleased you to give me in Charge.. In some things I have been somewhat briefer then I would, and in other perhaps longer then I should. The length may be excused, because all things being done for your pleasure, I hope you will give me leave to please my self in some things wherein I was carried away with the great delight that I took in handling the same; And the brevity is excusable, because when I saw that my Treatise was grown to be somewhat long, I thought it convenient to hasten to an end.

Excuse both; and tender my credit; and accuse me of unkindness if I be not ready to yeeld you better contentment in the like Task hereafter, when years shall have increased my slender Experience, and Experience shall have perfected my simple Knowledge.

FINIS.





To the Reader.



Libel whose substance cannot be changed after it is once given into a Civil or Ecclesiastical Court, may in some sort be declared or amended before a replication be made thereunto.

A witness which after Publication is once granted cannot justly be received, may be lawfully examined upon new Articles depending upon the former; and a Judge after the Deposition of Witnesses are communicated to both parties, may by vertue of his office, and to inform his own Conscience, re-examine a witness.

If Additions and Declarations may be allowed in matters of Judgement, and Judicial Courts, and especially in the examinations of witnesses, which may easily be corrupted, I hope it shall not be offensive in me, to make a Declaration of some things not sufficiently declared and expressed in any precedent Treatise; especially since this addition serveth rather to illustrate, then any way to enlarge my Discourse; and all or the most part of that which I have thought good to add in this place, came to my mind or my knowledge since my task was finished. Farewel, and judge so of my labours, that you discourage me not to labour for you again, in any thing wherein my pen and my pain may yeild you pleasure and contentment.

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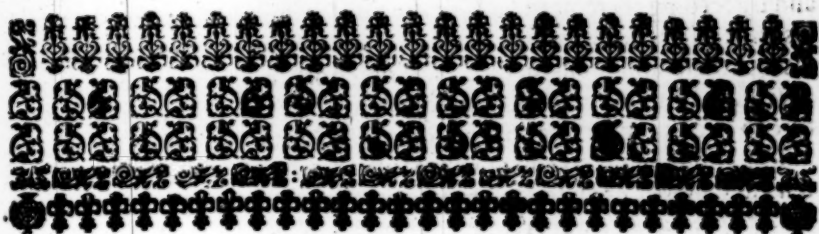
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A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
State of Christendom.



After that I had thorowly (as I thought) finished my task, and had discoursed upon every point thereof in such manner as you see; of some briefly, and of divers more at large: I hapned upon a Book called *Podaces de Historia*; that is to say, The Pidades. Fragments of an History: The which was lately Imprinted and Written (as it is supposed) by *Antonio Peres*, somtimes Secretary unto the King of *Spain*, and now residing in *London*; not as a rebellious Fugitive (as many of our Countrymen live in *Spain*) but as a Gentleman, that thought it better to forsake his lands and livings, then to live under the tyrannie and injustice of a cruel and ungrateful King.

This Book containing much matter fit to clear and declare some points lightly handled in my Treatise, in regard whereof, and for that divers men both speak and think diversly, as well of the maker, as of the matter thereof, I have thought it meet and convenient with the substance of this book.

May it therefore please you to understand, that whereas Don *John* was sent by the Spanish King to Govern the Low-Countries, he had a Secretary appointed him by the King, called *John de Soto*, a man that endeavoured himself by all means possible (as wise and worldly servants

A Supplement to the History of

most commonly do) first to know, and then to feed his Masters humour, and by feeding thereof, to seek his own profit and preferment : In which his endeavours he proceeded so far, that the Spaniard fearing lest that his Brothers ambitious nature receiving both nourishment and encouragement from his wife and politique Secretary, might in time adventure to attempt something to the prejudice of his Kingdoms and Dominions, thought it convenient not to suffer so dangerous a servant to attend any longer upon so ambitious a master : But because he doubted, that if *John de Soto* were removed from *Don John de Austria's* service, and not preferred to some place better then the Secretaryship was, it would not only discontent the servant, but also displease the Master : for the better contentment and satisfaction of both, he advanced him to an office of greater countenance and commodity ; and with advice of his Council, placed in his room *John Escovedo*, a man of a milder nature, and in the Kings opinion, not so fit at that time as the other was, to favour and further his brothers aspiring and audacious enterprises.

This man advertised the King his master of all *Don John de Austria* his doings, and sought rather to please the King, then the young Duke his Master. But at length he followed the footsteps of his Predecessor, and yeilded nothing unto him in feeding his Masters humours; he found quickly that his Master loathed the name of Duke, and longed to be a King ; that the Pope and Princes of *Italy* were as desirous as he to make him King ; that the best way to induce the Spanish King to yeild his consent thereunto, was to entreat the Pope to write unto his Brother in his behalf ; and that *England* was a Kingdom for his purpose, and worthy the conquering.

A plot is laid how to invade *England*, and conquer it ; and the Pope is entreated to recommend the enterprize to the Spanish King, and *Don John* for the execution before, and the possession after the conquest.

The Pope writeth unto the King in the behalf of his Brother ; he fearing that when his brother had obtained *England*, he would not rest satisfied therewith, but coveted greater matters, and that he should find many Christian Princes ready to assist him in his endeavours, thanketh the Pope for his loving and kindly care of his Brothers advancement ; and denieth not his suit, for fear he should offend his Brother ; but requireth time to consult and deliberate of the matter ; for the enterprize (said he) is honourable, but hard and difficult ; and my Brother a fit man to be employed therein, but his credit must be regarded ; and his aiders and abettors cannot chuse but participate of his dishonour, if the enterprize should not succeed according to his and their desires.

This answer runneth for curreant, until the plot laid for *England* was prevented, and broken by the wisdom and policy of the Queen, and Council of *England*.

Then *Don John* and his Secretary, together with the Pope and other Italian Princes, think upon another Kingdom for him, and altogether practise how to make him King of *Tunis*, a place that required a man of his worth, as well to keep it, as to contain the Turk within his limits.

The Pope therefore writeth again unto the Spanish King, praying him to bestow the Kingdom upon his Brother : He entertaineth both the Pope and his Brother as he did for *England* ; alwaies forbearing to make *Don John* greater and mightier then he was himself.

All

All these practises with the Pope were done secretly, and *Escovedo* was the man that was still employed in them: The King was never made privie unto them, until that the Popes Nuntio talking by chance with *Antonio Peres*, revealed all their secret intelligences with the Pope, and he presently made report thereof unto the King.

The Spanish Ambassador also advised the said *Peres*, that Don *Fohn de Austria* by means of *Escovedo*, had great recourse unto the King, with whom his Messenger had several privie conferences, and never acquainted him with any; and after they had been with the King, they went unto the Duke of *Guise*, who concluded a great league of amity and friendship between Don *Fohn* and the said Duke, upon pretence, that the defence of both Kingdoms, *France* and *Spain*, was the cause of this League.

Antonio Peres imparteth the news unto the King, who dissembleth his knowledge thereof, and entertaineth both his Brother, and his Brothers Secretary, with all outward shews of kindness and brotherly affection.

Don *Fohn* wearied with continual crosses, and untoward proceedings in *Flanders*, resorted on the sudden into *Spain*, without giving the King any notice of his coming: The King giveth him outwardly a very kind entertainment, confer together about his preferment, and dispatcheth him in all haste for *Flanders*, pretending the troubles there to be such, as his long absence from thence might greatly endanger his State. Don *Fohn* departing, leaves *Escovedo* behind him, to solicit and follow his business in his absence.

Here endeth *Escovedo's* prosperity, and beginneth *Antonio Peres* his downfall from that favour and good fortune which followed him before that time: For when the Duke Don *Fohn* was gone, the King consulteth with him how to proceed against *Escovedo*: Then they call to mind all their former intelligences; they think it dangerous to send him back again into *Flanders*, because he would still nourish him in his ambitious humour: Then they hold it likewise to be a matter of no small danger to proceed against him by Order of Law, because that was to call his Brother in question, and so to offend his Brother, thereby to give him an occasion to fall from him unto his most mortal enemies: Then they resolve that the best and safest course was, to give *Escovedo* a *Baccado*, that is, a morsel to shorten his days; because that being done secretly, his Brother would haply think that some of his enemies had secretly poysoned him.

This resolution being thus taken, *Antonio Peres* is commanded by the King to put the same in execution; and he performeth the charge so cunningly, that no man but he and the King knew by whom *Escovedo* was poysoned.

He being dead, his son *Pedro Escovedo* useth all means possible to come to the knowledge of them that murdered him; and seeking, findeth some light occasion of slender presumption against *Antonio Peres*, which is nourished by *Peres* his enemies.

Escovedo counselled by *Peres* adversaries, and his Fathers best friends, presenteth an humble supplication to the King, wherein he accuseth *Antonio Peres* of his Fathers death, and beseecheth his Majesty to vouchsafe

safe him the benefit of Law and Justice against the Murderer.

His Petition is received and read by the King, that he shall have Justice with all favour and expedition: *Peres* is committed as a prisoner unto his house, and order is given for his examination: The King wavereth betwixt hope and fear, as men usually do whose consciences are charged and burthened with guilt; sometimes he hopeth well, because no man to his knowledge knowing the matter but he and *Peres*, he thinketh that the accuser shall never be able to make sufficient proof of the matter: and sometimes he doubteth that *Peres* may in hope of pardon from him (by whom he was set on work) confess the murder, and the cause thereof.

These perplexities thus troubling the King, *Peres* is likewise perplexed with the same passions; sometimes he liveth in hope, because the King comforteth him, and his accuser proceedeth faintly in his accusation; within a while after he beginneth to fear, because he is committed to harder durance, commanded to confess the fact, and conceal the cause; willed to compound with his accuser, and so eagerly prosecuted, that he flyeth to *Aragon*; The people there (being grieved with the manner of proceeding against him, and with the manifest breach of their ancient privilege) rise up in Arms, make *Ghilmesa* their Head, and by main force deliver him out of prison; he being at liberty, flyeth into *France*, and thence cometh into *England*.

Thus you have briefly heard the fact, now it remaineth to clear such questions as may arise from this fact.

The Questions are these,

1. First, *Whether the King commanding Escovedo to be murdered in this manner, may not worthily be accompted and called a Murderer?*
2. Next, *Whether Antonio Peres obeying this Commandment, hath not committed as great an offence as the King?*
3. Then, *Whether the King being found a Murderer, deserveth not to be Deposed or Excommunicated for this Murder, better then the King of France did deserve to be deprived of his Life and Crown, for murdering the Duke of Guise?*
4. Lastly, *Whether this Excommunication and Deposition may be warranted by the example of other Princes, who having committed the like offences, have endured and undergone the like punishment?*

To clear the first question, it shall be needful to know whether the King had just occasion offered him by *Escovedo*, to cause him to be murdered? For though Princes have life and death over their subjects, yet he is to be accompted a Tyrant that causeth any of his Subjects to be done to death, without having deserved to lose his life; and this authority given them by Law, and common consent of their subjects, tendeth to no other purpose, nor respecteth any other end, then that sin may be punished, and malefactors not permitted to live, both to the scandal and detriment of well doers.

If therefore *Escovedo* committed no offence worthy of death, the King had no power, no warrant, no authority to take away his life; his offence therefore must be known, the nature, quality, and circumstances thereof

thereof well examined, and duly considered, and according as his crime shall fall out, and prove to be great or small, pardonable or capital, so shall the Kings actions seem punishable or excusable.

All that *Antonio Peres* his Book chargeth him withal, is, that he had secret intelligence with the Pope, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Guise*, wherein he was set on by his master *Don John de Austria*, who was the King's Lieutenant General, and by vertue of this office, represented the Kings own person, and was armed with his authority, if not in all things, yet in as much as concerned the execution of his charge and commission.

The question then must be, whether the Secretary unto such a Lieutenant performing that which is commanded by his master, may be taken and condemned for a Traytor?

Treason hath many branches, and is of divers kinds, and it would be tedious and troublesome to make a recital of them all: And it shall suffice to declare, whether any of the actions specified in this accusation, be within the compass of Treason: He wrote Letters; to whom? To the Pope: Why? He was no enemy, but a friend to the King of *Spain*: What was the tenor and contents of this Letter? Nothing else, but that it might please his Holiness to recommend one Brother unto another: Why? That was an office of kindness, and not of treason: And for what purpose desireth he to have him recommended? Forsooth for the employment in the service and enterprize that was to be made against *England*; Why, that service liked the King, and proceeded first from him, it tended to his benefit, it was to be undertaken in revenge of his supposed wrongs, against his enemy; and all this is no treason: And for whom wrote he? For *Don John de Austria*, his Kings Brother, the Pope's Darling, and Turks scourge, the Princes of *Italies* Favourite, the Queen of *Englands* terror, and the whole Worlds wonder. But he wrote without the King's privity; How shall he know that? Had he not good cause to think, that all that he did was done with the King's counsel and consent? Had he not eyes to see, and ears to hear, and discretion to consider, that whatsoever was done against *England*, should be both grateful and acceptable unto the King? I, but he might think that the King would not be content to have his Brother made a King; Why? He was his Lieutenant already, and so next to a King; He had done him great service, and was to do him more, and so deserved no small recompence; he had the Title of a Duke, but no Living fit for a Duke; the vertues and valour of a King, but no possibility to be a King but by his Brothers favour and furtherance; briefly, he desired that honour, and *Escovedo* perhaps thought the King meant to prefer him to that honour; the rather, because the King might be led to advance him to a Kingdom in his life time, by his fathers example, who prefers his Brother *Ferdinando* to the Empire, before he died himself; why then, be it that he was either deceived in his cogitation, or beguiled with the love of his Master, or went further then he had warrant to go, why, lawful ignorance extenuateth the gravity of; and as to annoy a Princes enemy, so to pleasure his friend was never punishable, or at any time accounted treason.

But when the enterprize against *England* failed, he solicited the Pope
for

for the Kingdom of *Tunis*; but how? Not to have it without the Kings good leave and liking: And when made he that motion? Even then, when the Princes of *Italy*, and the wisest Counsellors of *Europe* stood in fear of the common enemy, doubted that *Tunis* might be recovered by the Turk, and therefore thought it meet to have so valorous and victorious a Prince there, as was Don *Fohn de Austria*; who having the Kingdom in his own right, would be the more willing and ready to defend it: and was this desire an offence? Or, could this motion be counted treason? He might have remembred that Don *Fohn de Soto* was removed from serving Don *Fohn de Austria*, because he furthered him in the like enterprizes: But he saw him preferred to a place of greater honour and commodity; which gave him just occasion to think, that the King rather liked then disallowed his actions.

Thus you see there is no desert of death in practising with the Pope. Now it remaineth to consider, how this dealing in *France* with the King, or the Duke of *Guise*, may be justly esteemed a crime capital.

It appeareth that the French King was then in League with the Spaniard, whose Ambassador was then residing in his Court; and Ambassadors are not permitted to remain, but where there is a League of Amity betwixt Princes.

The Guisards affection hath been declared to have been always greater towards *Spain* then towards *France*: And the enterprize of *England* might seem unto Don *Fohn de Austria* very difficult, yea impossible, without some favour, without some help from *France*; if then to favour this enterprize, he had some secret intelligence with *France*, is he therefore blame-worthy? Or hath it ever been counted a fault in a servant or Lieutenant to seek all lawful and honourable ways to bring to pass his Masters desire and purpose? Do Princes prescribe unto their Lieutenants or Ministers all that they can do to compass and effect their designs? Do they not rather give them a few short Instructions, and leave it to their discretion and wisdom to foresee and use other means to further their intentions? Is not this the reason why they make choice of wise and discreet men for such employments? Is not this the cause that when they send young Noblemen either to Wars, or Ambassadors, or to forraign Governments, they are ever accompanied with grave and wise Counsellors? Briefly, Is it not this that moveth them to command that their young Lieutenants, Ambassadors, or Governours, shall do nothing without their Counsellors?

I know that it is very dangerous to be employed in Princes affairs; Danger in conceiving a message, and Danger in delivering the same, and danger in reporting an answer thereunto: And yet be it that a messenger conceiveth not a business rightly; that he delivereth not his will and pleasure as he should do; and that he faileth in report of his answer to whom he is sent; yet he committeth not a crime worthy of death, unless his Princes State be greatly endangered by his fault and folly.

Let all the ancient and new Histories be perused that handle matters of State; All the large Volumns of Civilians be read that ever writ of points of Treason; and all the Negotiations that have passed betwixt Prince and Prince be well and duly considered; and it will appear, that never any Princes servant or minister hath lost life for practising with
his

his Masters Friends and Allies, unless it were proved, that through his fault, of Friends they were made enemies: For the Laws take not any man to be a traytor, by whom his Princes State is not weakened or endangered; or his Countries adversaries strengthened or assisted, in deed, or in counsel, by advice, or by action.

Then since it was not proved that *Escovedo* his practises with the King of *France*, or with the House of *Guise*, tended to the disadvantage of his Prince, to the loss of his Realms, the diminution of his Friends, but rather to the advantage of the Kings Brother, the benefit of the Low Countries, and the continuance of the League and Amity betwixt *France* and *Spain*. For *Don John de Austria* his League with the Duke of *Guise*, was concluded for the benefit and defence of both Kingdoms; I see no reason why *Escovedo* should lose his life for contracting with *France* openly or secretly, with the Kings pleasure, or without his commission; especially if it were not shewed that he had some expresse commandment not to deal in any matter of what nature soever with *France* without his privy.

For although it be a fault in a servant to be over-busie in his masters affairs, into which divers servants fall, many times either because they are desirous to be always doing something; or for that they think they cannot be too careful and vigilant in any thing that concerns their masters; yet it is an offence pardonable: And the fault that proceedeth from temerity and rashness, deserveth rather commiseration then cruelty; pardon then punishment: especially unless it be such a fault that hath no certain kind of chastisement appointed out by the Law.

But *Escovedo* was once well affected unto the Kings service, and afterwards changed that affection. But how will this be proved? *Bartell* in his Book *de Guelphis & Gibellinis*, setteth down four causes, or changes, or signs of a changed affection, and of a mans mind estranged and departed from that faction which he once liked and followed.

The first, If he have any sudden occasion of quarrel and contention with a man that is mightier then himself amongst his own faction.

The second, If any inheritance or great commodity be fallen unto him, which he cannot enjoy unless he leave his old friends, and lean unto their enemies.

The third, If he be lately joyned in affinity with the contrary faction.

And the fourth and last, if moved with any of these causes, he departeth from one side unto another.

Of these four signs, which was found in *Escovedo*? Had he any quarrel with any one about his King that was greater then himself? It appeareth not; and *Don John de Austria* testifieth unto the King, that he was generally well liked and loved of all men. Had he any league of kinred or affinity in *Rome* or *France*? It was never urged against him, and he never sought any occasion of any such alliance. Left he his Masters service to serve the Pope or the French King? There was nothing further from his heart. Had he any pension of the Pope, any fee of the French King, any yearly reward of the House of *Guise*? The intelligence that was given against him mentioneth no such matter; and although he had some benefit by all these, yet it maketh him no traytor. For servants and Kings Counsellors may and do usually receive rewards

of their Princes enemies, much more of their friends, which are given to the end they should do some good offices about their King; and what Counsellor can be greatly blamed, if he take a reward of an enemy to effect that which he knoweth his master would have effected? Or who can justly think evil of that Counsellor, who when an enemy seeketh a peace that will be both honourable and profitable to his Prince, receiveth some notable reward to be a mediator of such a peace? Is it not good to ease an indiscreet enemy of his money? And have you not heard of *Philip de Commynes*, that divers great Officers of *England* had yearly Fees of the French King, and yet were held and taken (and that not wrongfully) for good and faithful Counsellors unto their own King and Country?

It is noted for indiscretion, and a great over-sight in the Seignory of *Venice*, that when they send their Generals into the Field against their enemies, they give them expresse charge and commandment, not to fight a Battel without leave of the Senate; because while they are sending for that leave, they many times lose very good opportunities to overthrow their adversaries: For that oft times it falleth out, that the time, the place, and other circumstances, give him opportunity to do better service then he should be able to do, if he were precisely fastned unto his Instructions. And undoubtedly the late Duke of *Parma* might have benefitted the Spaniard much more then he did in the Low Countries, had he not been constrained to let slip many good occasions whilst he attended for advice and resolution out of *Spain*. And it is certain that Don *Fohn de Austria* after his Victory at *Lepanto*, might have done great service unto all Christendom, had he not refused, when he was requested by the Venetians to follow the victory, because he had no warrant out of *Spain* to go further then he did. And the Duke of *Medina* might (as common fame reporteth) in the late Spanish enterprize against *England*, have annoyed our Realm much more then he did, had he not stood so nicely to his Commission.

If therefore *Flanders*, which in those days was very tumultuous, and subject to divers accidents; if *France*, which favoured not *England* at that time, so much as it doth at this present; if the Pope who wanted not a number of fugitives to incense him against *England*; if the House of *Guise* which had their secret friends, and their privie practises in *England*; if *England* it self, which was the mark whereat the Pope, the Spaniard, and Don *Fohn de Austria* did shoot; Briefly, if all these together might minister many sudden occasions, speedy resolutions, and better furtherance from *France*, from *Rome*, then from *Spain*; *Escovedo's* practises were tolerable, and his secret dealings gave the Spanish King no just occasion to put him to death.

It remaineth to see, whether the cause of his death being unjust, the King had any reasonable excuse to extenuate the murther; He that cannot escape death but by killing another, shall not be punished by death if he kill another; because it is lawful to repel force by force. The husband or father that killeth an adulterer in committing the fact with his wife or daughter, is not punished with death by Law, because the greatness of his sorrow excuseth the grievousness of his offence; and a man that being provoked by another by word or deed, killeth the provoker;

voker, is not subject to extream rigour of justice; because whatsoever is done in heat of choler, is rather excusable in mercy, then punishable with extremity.

The King of *Spain's* life stood in no danger as long as *Escovedo* lived, he had offered no violence to his wife or daughter, and if he gave him any occasion to be angry or displeased with him, there was time enough betwixt the occasion given, and the hour of his death, to allay the heat, and to assuage his wrath. There is not therefore any one just cause to excuse this murder, but many to aggravate the same.

For first, A King commanded it to be committed; and Kings ought to preserve, not murder their subjects.

Next, an innocent man was murdered; and it is better to save many offenders, then to condemn one innocent.

Then the murderer was as it were a father to the murdered; Kings are called fathers of their subjects.

Again, *Escovedo* was no stranger, but the Kings servant; and it is much more grievous to kill an household servant, then a stranger.

Again, *Escovedo* was no base person, but of good worth, and of divers good qualities; and he offendeth more that killeth an adulterer of good sort, then he that murdereth one of vile and base condition.

Again, *Escovedo* had deserved well of the King, and had done him many good services; and ingratitude is a detestable vice, a fault punishable by Law.

Again *Escovedo* was done to death against Law; and to murder a man without Law, is a double breach of Law: a breach in the murder; and a breach in not observance of Law.

Again *Escovedo* was poysoned; and the murder that is done with poyson (because it is trayterously done) is much more grievous then that which is performed. Therefore

Lastly, When poyson took no effect, he was killed with a sword; and the murder that is iterated, is more hainous, it argueth perseverance in wickedness, it sheweth that the offender is obdurate in malice, it betrayeth his cruelty, and declareth that nothing but death will satisfie him; so it is sin in a Prince to think on such a murder, wickedness to command it to be done, cruelty to thirst after innocent blood, ingratitude to render evil for good, treason to take away a mans life by poyson, and of all treasons the greatest, when poyson faileth, to use the sword, and when God hath miraculously preserved an innocent man, to attempt his death again, and never to desist until he was massacred.

For Princes are armed with authority, but they are to use the sword only against the wicked; they may be cruel, but with a kind of mercy and compassion; they may censure all mens actions, but with remembrance of mans imbecility, with grief for their fall, with sorrow for their temptation, with hope of their amendment, and with a desire of their conversion.

They must think that ignorance may mislead them, Satan seduce them, sin get the upper hand of them, Gods good grace abandon them, and that being destitute of his favour, they are no more able to make any resistance against the divel's temptations; and when they have thought upon all this, they must look upon themselves, and in themselves

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consider, that they be angry, but without sin; they may be moved, but not so much as to forget to do justice; punish offenders without hatred to their persons, and not before that reason hath mastered their own affections, mercy hath mitigated their rigour, and wisdom hath nullified all the extremity of their inordinate passions.

This murder being then in thought, in action, in continuance, and in iteration impious and detestable, it resteth therefore to shew whether *Antonio Peres* yeilding his consent, and putting his helping hand thereunto, be not guilty of *Escovedo* his death as well as the King.

For the affirmative it may be said, that in cases of felony, murder, and treason, the principals and accessaries are held to offend in one and the same measure; because they are most commonly subject to one and the same manner of punishment: That servants to private men, and Counsellors to Princes, must obey God rather than their Masters, the almighty in heaven, rather than the mighty on earth: That *Peres* knew in conscience that *Escovedo* had not deserved death: That no man should do any thing against his Conscience; and that Counsellors attend upon Princes to be dissuaders of their follies, and not executioners of their furies.

It had therefore been the part of *Antonio Peres*, when he saw his King resolute to have *Escovedo* murdered, not to have reprehended his wicked intention presently, but to have attended some convenient time when the Kings fury and anger had been past, when he would have hearkned unto reason, and given an attentive ear unto good counsel, and then not to have spared his tongue or his pen, his counsel or his cunning, his wits, or his credit with his master, until he had changed his mind.

For wise and discreet officers unto Princes, will not presently obey their hasty, furious, and unadvised commandments, but give them time to allay, and pacifie, and to consider with themselves what they have commanded, and what mischiefs and inconveniencies may follow of their commandments: And the Prince that hath such, may think himself happy; and when of a servant to his passions he returneth happily to himself, that is to be a right Prince, then will he thank them heartily for their good counsel.

It is written of a Duke of *Britany*, that when he had taken *Clifton* an high Constable of *France*, who had made the French his mortal enemy, and caused him to work his Countries great harm and annoyance, he delivered him into the hands of *John Babilion* his trusty and faithful servant, and commanded him to be caused to be drowned secretly: *Babilion* considering what danger might follow of his rash and hasty commandment, preserved the Constable; and within a few days after, when he saw the Duke his master very pensive and sorrowful, he presumed to demand the cause of his grief: The Duke not being able to conceal any thing from him, although he thought not to have found such comfort as he did by him, acquainteth *Babilion* with the cause of his heaviness, which was, that he had caused the Constable so unadvisedly to be made away; *Babilion* seeing the time fit to declare what he had done, let the Duke understand that *Clifton* lived; and by way of advice told him, that by restoring his prisoner in safety without a rancome unto
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the French King, he should bind the Constable to do him all manner of good offices about the king of *France*, purchase the Kings assured friendship, and procure his own Countries safety and quiet: For which good counsel the Duke thanked him as much as for saving the Constable, and found that by following the same, he and his subjects lived afterwards in great peace and tranquility.

Had *Antonio Peres* imitated this *Bavilion*, the Spanish Kings honour had not been blemished as now it is, *Escovedo's* children had not troubled him as they did, *Peres* himself and his posterity had not endured the calamities which he and they suffer, and *Aragon* had not tasted the miseries and inconveniences which fell upon *Aragon*.

In handling of the negative, I may not altogether excuse *Antonio Peres*; for I know, and so must he, that his reputation should have suffered less indignity, his conscience less troubled, and he should undoubtedly have less to answer for hereafter, if he had imitated *Bavilion*; but because it is hard in these days to find any Prince like unto the Duke of *Britany*, few Counsellors or Ministers dare adventure to follow the footsteps of *Bavilion*.

For they remember that *Hydaspes* or *Harpagus*, as before, being commanded by *Astages* to kill *Cyrus*, saved the harmless innocent, but his son smarted for his fathers offence, and the father could not chuse but smart and sorrow in his sons death. Herodotus.

They remember, that *Cambyfes* his servant spared *Cræsus*, when they were commanded to kill him, but he lived, and his wife was the cause of their death; and this remembrance maketh them fear the Princes displeasure, and this displeasure putteth them in fear of their lives, and this fear causeth them willing to obey and execute their hasty and furious commandments, the rather, because they see that although Princes sometimes chance to return to favour those persons whom they willed to be destroyed, yet they always hate those ministers that would not destroy them at their commandment.

And *Peres* knew, or might learn that a Princes Judge may command an ordinary or an inferiour Judge to execute his sentence, and he upon whom he layeth this command, is bound to execute the same, although he knoweth that his sentence be unjust; and if the ordinary or inferiour Judge shall refuse to obey his commandment, the Delegate may inforce him thereunto by excommunication and ecclesiastical censure. Pastoralis

And this is so true, that the Popes Legate, who is an ordinary, and one of the highest dignities that may be, cannot impeach or hinder a sentence given by the Popes Delegate; and the Delegate may, if it please him, both command and compel the Popes Legate to execute his sentence, because that in the cause that is so committed unto him, he is greater then the Popes Legate. De officio Delegati.

And if a Popes Legate may be constrained to obey a Judge Delegate, how much more may an inferiour Judge, or a common or a mean Ordinary be enforced to yeild him dutiful obedience.

The reason why this obedience is required, because he unto whom the execution of sentence is only committed, hath no authority to examine the equity or injustice thereof; he must think that all is just that such a judge doth, he must look upon the commission and commandment

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ment given unto him, without making any further enquiry into the matter, and he must presume that whatsoever might be said against that sentence, hath been already said, and duly considered.

Felinus in
Eccl. n. 6.

Now if this obedience must be shewed unto a Judge delegate, and for no other reason but for that he representeth the Princes person, how much more ought a Kings commandment not to be disobeyed, although he should will and command any man to hang one of his Subjects, without acquainting him with the cause, or examining the same cause before his commandment; for the pleasure of a Prince is held for a sufficient cause, and he hath no superiour who may presume to examine his will or his actions. And this is so true, that no manner of proof may be admitted against this general and infallible conclusion.

L. 1. idem
Pompon.

Again, a Judges authority maketh that just which was otherwise unjust; for although whatsoever is done by a false Guardian be not lawful, especially if it be done to his prejudice that is under years; yet if the Civil Magistrate shall ratifie such a Guardians action, it shall be of full force. Shall not a King from whom such authority is, derived have the like power, the like prerogative?

C. 2.

Again every superiours authority and commandment must be obeyed, and he that obeyeth not must dye the death, and may be lawfully called and chastised as a Rebel.

Felinus in
Eccl. n. 61.

Now to apply all that hath been said unto *Ant. Peres* his case; the resolution of the second question may be briefly this; if he knew, either because the King had acquainted him therewithal, or that in conscience he was assured that the King would not command any unjust thing, that *Escovedo* had deserved death, he might boldly see him executed. Or, if it were doubtful unto him whether *Escovedo* had given the King just occasion to command his death, he needed not fear to perform his commandment. But if his secret conscience could tell him that the King had no just cause of death against *Escovedo*, then undoubtedly it had been *Peres* his part not to have obeyed.

For as the Judge who is bound to judge *secundum allegata & probata*, if any thing be falsely proved before him, and he not know that it is so, shall do better to give over his office, then to pronounce sentence against his own Conscience. So *Antonio Peres*, although it had been dangerous for him to refuse to obey, and execute his Princes command, yet if he knew that the same was repugnant to the Word of God, which permitteeth no man to be slain without just desert, he should have done better to obey God then his King.

Qui resistit
11 quest. 3.
Bald.

For although a King be called God's Minister, and his judgements seem to proceed from God's own mouth, yet when he doth wrong, and breaks God's commandments, he is not then God's minister, but the divel's, and then he is no Judge, no King, because he leaveth God, and fulfilleth not that charge which the Almighty hath laid upon him; and he that obeyeth not his King in such commandments, obeyeth God; yea the subject against whom the King taketh such unlawful course, may defend himself against his violence and oppression.

Betwixt God therefore and *Antonio Peres* his Conscience be it, whether he proceeded against *Escovedo* in malice or in justice; and if his conscience shall accuse him, undoubtedly he shall one day finde, that the

the fear of the Princes displeasure will be no sufficient warrant, or lawful excuse, and that it had been better for him to have said unto his King, God commandeth me one thing, and you another; he biddeth me not to kill, and you command me to murder; he threatneth me if I obey not him, and you menace me if I disobey you; but you threaten me with imprisonment, he with hell; you with short pain, and he with everlasting torment; you with death, and he with damnation: and therefore good King give me leave to lean to him, and leave you.

Now followeth the third question, a matter the proof whereof must rest upon the Spanish King's Conscience, and *Antonio Peres* his voluntary confession, which is a slender kind of proof, and especially against a King, for exceptions may be made and taken against it: As that *Antonio Peres* bewrayeth his own filthiness, and therefore is not to be heard; That he is but one witness; That he is as *Socius Criminis*, and therefore his accusation of little force; and many other like, which for brevity I omit, and will dispute *tanquam ex concessis*, and have two principal reasons to induce me thereunto.

The first, because I presume that no man will be so impudent as to accuse a King, and his own Sovereign to his face, and to the view of all the world, of a horrible murder, unless his accusation were true, and tended rather to purge himself, then to defame and discredit his Prince.

The second cause, I find that the Spanish Kings friends and favourers have not made any conscience or difficulty to calumniate our Princess, her life and actions, upon far more slender presumptions then we have of this murder.

The Author of that seditious Book which was written against the late King of France, delivereth it for his resolute opinion, That the said King deserved to lose his Crown, because he not only consented, but also commanded the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal his Brother to be murdered.

He aggravateth his murder by three principal reasons and instances. The first, Because they were innocent. The second, Because they were allied unto the King. And the third, Because they were massacred by common murderers. These reasons have already been sufficiently reprov'd.

Their innocency hath been shewed to be horrible treasons, their alliance unto their King not worthy of pardon or commiseration, and their death to be warrantable by Law and equity.

It resteth to make a brief comparison betwixt them and *Escovedo*, and the comparison may be this: *Escovedo* practised with friends, they with foes. He for the King's Brother, they against the King, his Brother, and all his blood. He to the benefit of his Prince and Country, they to the hurt and ruine of the King and his realm. He with the consent and command of the King's Lieutenant, they against the will and pleasure of all the King's loving and faithful Officers. He to reduce the King's subjects to their obedience, they to alienate their Princes subjects from their allegiance. He to submit strangers unto his Princes Dominions, and they to subject their Prince and Country unto strangers. He to joyn other Countries with the Spanish Kings, they to dismember and distract many provinces from the French Crown. He was never admonished

monished to desist, they were oft-times required to depart from their unlawful League and Confederacy. He was cut off before he came to any open action, they lived after they had committed many notable and notorious treasons. He was accused but of presumption, they were convicted by divers and evident proofs. He perished because it was thought he would or might have done evil, they were not executed before it appeared that they had done too much evil. He living could not endanger his Kings life, and they (if they had not been slain when they were) would have shortned their King's days, and utterly have subverted his Realm and their Country. Briefly, his death did the Spanish King no good, their punishment had freed the French King and his Country of many troubles and dangers, had not a factious and wicked Fryer ended his life before he could see an end of those troubles. If *ergo* the King of *France* deserved to be excommunicated and deposed for murdering them, much more deserveth the King of *Spain* the like punishment for massacring him, although they far excelled him in honour and dignity: And if great crimes are to be punished with great penalties, small offences with small correction, and such as the fault is, such is the chastisement, I shall not need to prove my opinion with more arguments. And if the common and Ecclesiastical Laws have no greater punishment then degradation and excommunication, and both of them are equal unto deposition, unto death in the Civil Law; and if for what faults they may be afflicted by an Ecclesiastical Judge, deposition and death may be imposed for the same crimes by a Civil Magistrate: Murder being punished with degradation and excommunication in an Ecclesiastical Court, Murder must needs be capital before a Temporal Judge.

But what need I stand any longer upon the proof of my opinion? The Author of the before-named seditious Book, caseth me of that pain.

Ergo, since the Law saith, Such Judgement as a man giveth against another, such must he expect and look for himself; and he that approveth a witnesses honesty and integrity, when he is produced to testify in a matter for him, cannot refuse to take exceptions against his person, if he chance to be brought forth afterwards for a witness in another cause against him.

The Leaguers were the Spanish King's friends, who by the mouth of this author have condemned the French King for a murderer, and have thought him worthy to be deprived for those murders, must needs allow the same reasons, the same Law, the same judgement against the Spaniard. Thus the third question is cleared.

Now followeth the fourth, in the handling whereof I shall likewise be eased by the same author; for the same examples which fortifie his opinion, may serve to confirm my assertion.

He mentioneth many Princes who were deposed, or excommunicated, or censured by the Pope for murder.

The Princes deposed were *Ptolomæus Phiscon* King of *Egypt*, *Tarquinius superbus* King of *Rome*, *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, *Herdanus* King of *Castile*, and *Edward* and *Richard* both the second, Kings of *England*.

The Kings excommunicated by the Pope, were *Peter* King of *Castile*, whom

whom Pope *Urban* excommunicated, because he killed *Blanch* the daughter of the Duke of *Barbon*, and divers Peers of his Realm. *Maganus Nicholas* King of *Denmark*, who was likewise excommunicated for the murther committed by his sons procurement on the person of *Canutus* his Nephew. And lastly King *John* of *England*, who incurred the like punishment for causing his Nephew *Arthur* to be murdered, without any desert, without any due observance of Law or Equity.

The same author aggravateth again the French King's murther, because the Cardinal was an Ecclesiastical man, and a man of great Calling and Dignity; and proveth again his opinion by the example of *Henry* the eighth King of *England*, whom the Pope excommunicated, and absolved his subjects from the oath and duty of obedience which they owed unto him, because he caused *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* to be done to death: And by the example of *Bolislaws* King of *Poland*, whom *Gregory* the seventh not only excommunicated, but also deprived him of his Crown and Dignity, because he had killed holy *Stomlaus*.

But it may be said that the French King killed two, and the Spaniard but one; that *Escovedo* was a man of no such quality as the Duke and the Cardinal; that their death alone was not the only crime that was proved against the French King, but many other matters as hainous as their murther; Briefly, that in Kings, one fault, be it never so grievous, may be pardonable, a few somewhat tolerable, but many must needs be punishable in the highest degree, and with the greatest extremity.

To this I may answer, that I have already sufficiently cleared the French King of all that was (more wrongfully then truly) laid to his charge; and that the Spanish King may be charged with many crimes, as many as the late King of *France*; but in particular.

Escovedo his death was an horrible murther, but the proceeding of *Antonio Peres* and his friends, made it much more horrible; for wherein did *Peres* offend the King? Was it an offence against his Majesty that he fulfilled his commandment, in causing him to be murdered whose death he desired? Was it a treason not to confesse this murther, which could not be revealed without the King's prejudice? Was it a fault to confesse the murther, as he was commanded, and to conceal the cause, as he was willed? Was it not a crime punishable to compound with the accuser, and to buy his quiet, as *Peres* did with twenty thousand duckets? Briefly, Was it a sin unpardonable to blemish his own reputation, and to impoverish himself, and all to please and content the King? If all these be no faults, then had the King no just cause to be displeased with *Peres* as he was, sometimes friendly, other times hardly pleased, to day favouring him, to morrow persecuting him; one while promising him great rewards, another while taking from him his own goods, and his own substance; and if all these be faults, whose faults be these? Are they not the King's as well as *Peres* his faults? Nay, came they not from the King, and not from *Peres*, who did nothing but what the King commanded him what he thought fit and convenient to be done, which he not only required him, but also promised him great rewards to do? But grant that *Peres* offended the King highly, what offence had *Peres*

his wife and children committed, that they should be imprisoned, and his Son lose his ecclesiastical living? Offended they because they became suitors for his enlargement, for his speedy and just tryal? Had he been a manifest Traytor, it was lawful for his wife to sue for his pardon. Had she been guilty, and consenting to his treason, she could have endured no more then he did, unless he had been first condemned; and the Law favoureth women, even in cases of treason; because it presumeth that by reason of the infirmity of their Sex, they dare not attempt so much as men: and had his son joyned with his mother for his fathers liberty, that was no sufficient cause to take away his Living.

For the Law which enjoyneth a childe to prosecute and revenge his fathers death, if he chance to be killed, upon pain of loss of his chilles part and portion, cannot but permit him, yea either expressly or secretly charge him to do his best and uttermost endeavour to preserve and keep his father from a wrongful and undeserved death.

And the Cannons which permit not the Pope, who is a competent and the highest Judge in any Ecclesiastical causes, to take away a Benefice from any man at his pleasure, suffer not a Lay Prince, who is no competent Judge in Ecclesiastical causes, according to those Cannons, to make his pleasure a just and sufficient reason to deprive any man of a spiritual Living.

It is *ergo* manifest, that there was and is great wrong done unto *Antonio Peres*, to his wife and children; and this wrong ceaseth not in them, but reacheth unto others; and not unto mean men only, nor in the least kinde of injury: For *John Don de la Nuca*, a man of no mean authority, a Magistrate, the chief Justice of all *Aragon*, must not be lightly punished (which had been somewhat tolerable, but unjustly beheaded, which was extream tyrannie; and for what cause? If I may not tell you, the King's own letter shall tell you.

This Letter written by the King unto *Don John Alonso*, contained these short but sharp words.

As soon as you receive this Letter, you shall apprehend Don John de la Nuca, chief Justice of Aragon, and let me as soon be certified of his death, as of his Imprisonment; you shall cause his head straightway to be cut off, and let the Cryer say thus: This is the Justice which the King our Lord commandeth to be done unto this Knight, because he is a gatherer together of the Kingdom, and for that he raised a Banner against his King, who commandeth his head to be cut off, his goods to be confiscated, and his House and Castle to be plucked down to the ground: Whosoever shall presume so to do, let him be assured so to die.

You see the cause, he is a Traytor: How is that proved? The King said so. He gathered together the Commons: How doth that appear? By the King's Letter. He raised a Banner against the King: who is his Accuser? The King; Who the Judge? The King; What Tryal had he? As soon as he was taken he was executed; a Judgement goeth before an Arraignment; an Execution before a Judgement; Who was the Executioner? *Don Alonso de Vargas*; With what solemnity is the execution done? Whoso is a Traytor shall die; so whoso raiseth the Country shall die; so whoso raiseth a standard in the field against the King shall die so; all is treason, and all is death, all upon a sudden, and all without due and lawful proof.

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For such a Justice as Don *John de la Nuca* was, could have no other Judge, no man else to condemn him, but a certain Court called *Contes Lateras*, the King, and the States of the Kingdom; such a crime as was laid to his charge, cannot be heard and determined in *Aragon* by the King, such a sentence as passed against him, hath no more power or force against a mans person, his goods, or his honour, then a sentence given by the complainant against the defendant; such a King as the King of *Spain* should be in *Aragon*, is no longer a King if he break the Laws of the Union, and of those Laws there are two especial branches, the one, That whensoever the King breaketh those Laws, the Subjects may presently chuse another King: The other, That all the States, and rich men of the Country may assemble together, and forbid any rents to be paid unto the King, until the Vassal whom the King doth wrong be restored unto his right; and the Law which he doth presume to violate, be likewise re-established in full force and strength.

Moreover, because there is no other Law and Obligation wherewith to binde a King, then with an Oath, an Oath is taken of the King at his Coronation to keep those Laws, and the Oath is given him with these words: *We who are able to do as much as you, do make you our Lord and King, with this condition, that you shall keep our Laws and Liberties, and if you will not keep them, you are not our King.*

Here you see Laws broken, a King forsworn, and subjects authorized to depose such a King, or rather, a King *de facto* deposed, and not only deprivable if he shall break those Laws. And in *Antonio Peres* his Book, you shall see how often and how violently those Laws were broken.

Now it followeth to shew you briefly, whether voluntary perjury, and wilful breaking of Laws, be punishable with deprivation in a prince, and whether subjects may lawfully resist such a Prince.

These questions, if you look upon the rebellion of the Flemmings; and the deposition of the Scottish Queen, are in some measure lightly resolved, but not so fully discussed but that they need a more ample and large declaration.

Perjury is a most grievous offence, but much more grievous when it is voluntarily committed; and then a man committeth perjury willingly, when he doth any thing willingly against an Oath taken, not by force, but by free will; not unadvisedly, but with great consideration; not to his hurt, but to his advantage; not to perform a thing impossible or dishonest, but to binde and tye himself to a condition that is both possible and honest. For when a man (not being forced thereunto by just fear or irresistible necessity) breaketh such an Oath, there can be no colour or pretence to excuse his perjury; it argueth, it convinceth him of fraud and deceit, and giveth an occasion to think that he regardeth not an oath.

The seditious Author thought the late French King worthy to be deprived for his offence, and yet he hath no such proof of his perjury as may be had against the Spanish King.

The Civil Laws hold perjured men for infamous persons, and the Cannons receive no infamous person fit to execute an office of honour and dignity. A perjured man is alwaies repelled from bearing witness

Barroill.
Lucias F.

Bald. de
fid. mil.

Abb. & Fe.
ex parte de
test.

Abb. & Fe.

Fel.

Glossa.

in any cause whatsoever, because that being convicted to have forsworn himself in one cause, it is not only a presumption, but a sufficient proof that he will depose falsely in another. And this is so true, that although he hath amended his life, yet he cannot be admitted for a witness, be it either in a civil or criminal cause.

Again a Priest that hath forsworn himself for a Benefice, is not only deprived of the Benefice for which he committed perjury, but also of all other Benefices that he had before; and the Bishop that hath deprived him, cannot bestow another Benefice upon him; for the collation that the Bishop maketh unto such a man of such a Benefice, is void by Law.

And although a man may say that such a collation made by the Pope is good and valuable in Law, yet it may be answered, that the Pope making the like collation, seems to dispense with the inability of the person, and so the collation is not of force of itself, but by reason of the Popes dispensation, who hath full power to dispense with men in such cases.

Since *ergo* perjury is a sin so detestable and odious, that it not only excludeth men from preferment and honour, but also removeth them from their offices and dignities which are advanced; it must needs be granted that the Spanish King who hath violated his Oath made unto his subjects at the time of his Coronation, and broken the Laws which he then swore to observe & keep inviolable, may with more reason and justice be deprived of his Crown and Dignity than the French King, who neither was nor could be justly convicted of the like perjury.

But many things may be said for the Spaniards purgation, and especially these.

First, That subjects cannot receive an oath of their Prince, without the authority of some Judge, and that a promise made before no competent, bindeth not any man.

Next, That Princes which are above Law, are not bound to the observation of their contracts, which have their full force and strength from Law; that Princes may change and alter their own Laws at their pleasure.

Then, That although they should be strictly bound to stand to their Contracts, yet if they were induced to make a contract touching any thing wherein they were well informed, or if the contract do contain things too much derogating or diminishing their jurisdiction or authority Royal, or if they have made a promise that may be very prejudicial unto them, then in these three cases they may lawfully break and violate their contract.

And lastly, That an oath containing a promise not being grounded upon some other good cause, giveth no good action, no good bond and obligation; and notwithstanding that the bond were good, and the oath of force, yet Princes who may dispense with others, may give a sufficient dispensation to themselves, and so revoke their contracts; that if their own dispensations shall not be available, the Pope may absolve them of their oath, and from the due observance thereof; or that if the Pope will not absolve them, they need not care or seek for his absolution, because considering their might, their power, and their authority,
there

there is no Law, no Judge that can compel them to keep their oath, or to observe their contract.

To all these observations I answer briefly; because I mean but to give light unto others, or to my self, to answer them more fully hereafter.

The Law that requireth the authority of a Judge for the validity of a promise, speaketh of a transaction, and for victuals and sustenance, without the Magistrates consent and authority, and holdeth the transaction made for victuals for unlawful, because the composition was too little, and the Law in these cases is favourable, and the Magistrate charged to interpose his authority, when favourable persons are overmuch prejudiced, especially in favourable cases; and although Princes be numbered among favourable persons, yet this Law stretcheth not unto Princes who do usually at their Coronation swear to observe the ancient Laws and Liberties of their Kingdoms.

And this oath is held lawful, and lawfully taken, as well because general custom hath the full force and strength of a Law, for that the States and Commons of the Country being then present, do stand, and are taken by general custome, for sufficient Judges to give and receive that oath.

And although it may be said that neither all the States, nor all the Commons, are or can be present at the taking of such an oath, yet the oath shall avail them that are absent, as much as though they were present.

But Princes being above Law, are not so bound to the Laws, but they change and alter them at their pleasure. True, unless they be grounded upon the Laws of God, and the Laws of Nature. The first, They may interpret, the second they cannot alter or abrogate; the first binde them as well as their subjects, and so doth the latter. The breach of the first maketh them odious unto God; and the breach of the latter maketh them hateful unto men. In breaking the first they offend their Creator in heaven; in violating the latter, they remember not their maker on earth; for the people and Peers of the Realm are their makers next unto God. Jason n. 13

Contracts *ergo* of subjects having their ground, their foundation, and their strength, not from Princes Laws, but from the Laws of Nature, binde King and Emperour, Prince and Prelate, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, be it that they are made between a Prince and a private man, or the Prince and a City, or the Prince and any other.

The reasons why they are of such force are these.

First, It is not lawful to falsifie a mans faith.

Then, The Laws of Nature binde men, and perswade them to keep their contracts, and to hold their promise, even unto their enemies.

Next, The Laws of honesty charge their Princes to perform their contracts; there is nothing becometh them better, nothing that commendeth them more, nothing that men require so much at their hands.

Lastly, Princes Contracts are as good as Laws, and have the same force as Laws, in the same strength and vertue against their Successors which they have against themselves; nay, they are of greater strength then Princes Laws; for Laws may be repealed, but contracts cannot
be

be revoked: The reason of the diversity, Laws may alter according unto the times and the occasions, unto which Laws must be accommodated, by which Laws are occasioned, from which Laws received their beginning; but contracts are irrevocable, they admit no change, no alteration; and if they be once perfected, they can neither receive addition or subtraction, diminution nor enlargement; they may not be wrested, but taken according to the true and plain meaning of the contrahents.

But why they may they not be changed? Why may not a Prince alter them?

The reasons are these.

Before they are made, they are of Free will, and when they are once perfected, they are of necessity; that the Emperour of the world cannot add or detract any thing from his contract without his consent to whom it is made, although he were the meanest man in the world, who may be benefited, but not deceived by a contract; that is, not defrauded of that which is agreed upon in the contract, although it be lawful in bargaining, before the bargain be concluded, to deceive one another.

Secondly, If Princes might revoke their contracts at their pleasure, there should be no good dealing with them, which would be ridiculous; no trust to their words, which would be dishonest; no benefit would be gotten by them, which would be illiberal, and unbecoming the Majesty of a Prince.

Thirdly, Princes actions must be free from scandal, far from deceit, and not subject unto malice.

Autent de
Monarchis
in princi-
palibus.

Fourthly, Princes are reasonable creatures, and must submit themselves unto reason, lest they be reputed as B. Celestine was, not a man, but a beast, because he revoked in the evening the grants which he made in the morning.

Lastly, Other men may attend to profit, but Princes must look to honour, and have an especial regard thereof; and what can be more dishonourable then to break their word, to falsifie their faith, to violate their contract, especially if their word, faith, and contract be fortified and strengthened with a solemn oath, with an oath that being added to a contract, hath these vertues, these qualities, these operations.

It maketh their contracts lawful, and of full strength and force, which without an oath are not of weight before God and man.

For a young man under yeers, who by reason of his minority cannot contract without authority, consent, and counsel of his Guardian, shall be bound to stand to his contract, if he hath sworn to observe and keep the same, his oath strengthneth his contract, and depriveth him of the benefit of restitution to his former and pristine estate, it maketh the person infamous which breaketh such a contract, it debarreth him of any action against the other contrahent, it enforceth him to restore that he hath received, it disableth him to take the forfeiture that is made unto him, it freeth the observer of the Contract from any penalty whereinto he is fallen, it benefiteth the absent as the present, it torseith the contract whether it be interposed, either before or after the contract, or at the instant of the making of her, or at any other time, it urgeth and bindeth the contrahents to a strict and due observance, unless it may endan-

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ger their souls health, and keep and observe their contracts; Briefly, it hath many other operations, which shall be more fitly mentioned hereafter.

But what availeth it to have said all this, if all may be refelled in a few words; The King of *Spain* was not well informed when he made this contract, when he took this oath, he prejudiced himself greatly in yeilding thereunto, and he weakned his authority too much in submitting himself to the observance of the Laws: and all these being proved, or any one of these three inconveniences falling out to be true, he is not bound to the performance of this contract, or of this oath.

Fel. in Ep.
1. de prob.
n. 6, 7,

But how are all or any of these three inconveniences proved? How can it be that he should not be well informed when he yeilded to this contract? Could he be ignorant of that which all the world knew, which his Predecessors did before him, which strangers unto his Laws and Country knew many years ago? For *Guicciardine* (who wrote his book before he was crowned) writeth in the sixth book of his History, That the Aragonian Kings have no absolute and Kingly authority in all things, but are subject unto the subjects and constitutions of their Country, which derogate much from the power and authority of a King. And *Bodin* (who wrote not many years) being a Frenchman, and having no other knowledge of the Laws of *Aragon* but such as he received from others, used in his Book the same words of the Kings authority, which are used by the King at his Coronation.

We that are able to do as much as you, make you our Lord and King, upon condition that you shall keep our Laws and Liberties, and if you will not, you shall not be our King.

Laws bind the present as soon as they are published in their presence and hearing, and the absent shortly after that they come to their notice and knowledge; those Laws therefore being (as by all likelihood it seemeth) made and established at the Institution of the Aragonian King, could not be hidden from his knowledge, nor prejudicial to his Majesty and Authority Royal.

For what blemish is it to a King to submit himself unto those Laws which his Predecessors were contented to acknowledge and observe. The Emperour that made and authorized almost all the Civil Laws that are now extant, could set it down as a Law, that it should be well and worthily done of a Prince, be he never so great and mighty, to be pleased to subject himself to his own Laws; it delighteth a good Prince, it liketh his subjects, it honoureth Kings, and it greatly rejoyceth their Vassals.

The ancient Kings of *France* (who are now grown the most absolute Kings of the world) were wont to do nothing that was of any weight or consequence, without the consent of their best and wisest subjects. The Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, cannot make war against their enemies, which is one of the principal marks of Sovereignty, without the consent and leave of the States of their Country. *Crommus* in the year 1559. withstood the coronation of their King *Frederick*, until that he had sworn solemnly that he would not condemn any Nobleman to death, or confiscate his lands or goods, but suffer him to have his tryal by the Senate.

Bodin de
Repub.

That all Gentlemen should have power of life and death over their subjects,

subjects, without appeal, or without giving the King any part or portion of the penalties or forfeitures that shall be raised and levied of Gentlemen's subjects.

And lastly, That the King should not give any office whatsoever, without the counsel and consent of the Senate.

These are hard conditions, and presumptive arguments that the King of *Denmark* may hardly be called a Sovereign, and yet *Frederick* yielded to these conditions, and his Successors have ever since observed them; he, because he could not otherwise do, and they, because they thought it not convenient to deny that which he had granted; knowing that if they had refused his conditions, they should not be received and admitted unto his succession; and yet since the Nobility encroached herein upon their King, I take it to be lawful for his Successors to free themselves as soon as they shall be able, from that bondage, and scant princely servitude, if they be not sworn (as the Spaniard is at his Coronation) to see these conditions inviolably kept and observed; for if they be sworn, I hold it not lawful for him to break his oath; for men may not voluntarily commit perjury for any temporal commodity; and it is far better to endure temporal inconveniences and discommodities, then to offend a man's conscience, and endanger his soul.

Specul. l. 2.
de actione
scu per. 93.
n. 3.

All Histories new and old are full of the like indignities offered unto Princes by their subjects, as often as the rebellious people have had any good fortune against their Sovereigns; and all law and reason permiteth such Princes to redeem their liberty by any means possible, so it be not done contrary to their oath, or done within a convenient time: For though it be true, that *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*; yet that is most commonly understood in matters of lands, but jurisdiction may be prescribed, and there is nothing more common and ordinary, then for inferior officers to prescribe their superiours, when they be negligent and careless of their jurisdiction; and when an inferior hath fully prescribed, he hath as good right and interest in his prescribed jurisdiction, as any prince hath in the authority which his Predecessors have had time out of mind, or from the institution of their Kingdoms.

Fel. in cap.
Pastoralis.

Be it therefore for that the Nobility of *Aragon* have had the before-named privilege from the first beginning of that Royal Monarchy, or that they have used the same so long a time as serveth to induce a prescription, or that a general custome hath put them in full and lawful possession thereof, it is not now lawful for the Kings of *Spain*, unto whom the Kingdom of *Aragon* descended, with all charges and burthens thereunto belonging, to revoke and disannul the same privileges; and since that he is bound to observe them, because his Predecessors did so, and custome bindeth him so to do, it is not greatly material whether his oath were well and lawfully taken yea or no; and because he hath sworn to keep them, he cannot dispense with his Oath, or of himself remit the conditions whereunto he yielded at his Coronation.

Speculum
l. 5. de Le-
gibus S. 6.
n. 29.

For they that swear to do any thing which they are bound to do, although they were not sworn thereunto, binde themselves in double bonds to do the same: the first of honesty, the other of necessity. As if a merchant should swear not to falsifie any merchandizes that he uttereth, he is bound to observe his promise in honesty, and of necessity; in honesty

honesty, because no conscionable man will falsifie his word; and of necessity, because his oath made that necessary which was before but voluntary, and so forfeited and strengthened the former bond.

But to come more fitly and properly to our matter, what was the point for which *John de la Nuca* suffered. *Antonio Peres* suffered, part of *Aragon* revolted, and many (as well good as bad subjects of the Spanish King) were slain in *Caragoca*? Was it not the just grief, and lawful discontentment conceived for the new course, and extraordinary tryal that Inquisitors would and should have used against *Antonio Peres*? Did not this Inquisition breed a tumult in *Naples*, and in *Flanders*, where it brought more to their untimely deaths, then there are living creatures in all *Aragon*? Did you not know that this Inquisition was first invented for heretiques, and now it is used, or rather abused, against all sort of offenders; all kinds of offences being unjustly and maliciously drawn to the notice and cognisance of the unmerciful and rigorous Inquisitors, that serve the Pope for his executioners, and the Spaniards for their tormentors? Did not Don *John de la Nuca*, and many others know, that Ecclesiastical Judges are not to deal in temporal causes, be they merely civil or criminal, against private men, or for the Prince? Did not all the people know, or at least might they not have heard, that Clergy men cannot be present at a sentence of death, much less give such a sentence? And briefly, Do not all the world know, that it belongeth to him to judge who examineth a cause, and heareth the merits, proofs, and circumstances thereof? Why then should Inquisitors judge, and others examine; especially when the Law prescribeth both the Examiners and the Judges, and where the party accused desireth the benefit of Law, and the supreme Judge is bound by solemn oath to vouchsafe and yeild him the benefit and fruition of his desire? But it was the King's pleasure that *Antonio Peres* should die; and when Temporal Magistrates would not, Ecclesiastical Judges should condemn him.

If *Antonio Peres* his death might have contented and satisfied him, why sought he not some friend to make an end of him, in the same manner that he dispatched *Escovedo* for him? Had it not been less known to the world, less danger to the State? less prejudice to his Laws? He might have been secretly murdered with far less trouble then openly condemned, and his injustice in poysoning him should have been known but to the murtherers; whereas his iniquity in condemning him could not be but apparent unto the sight and view of all the world; but his ingratitude unto *Antonio Peres* for the pleasure done him, by taking away *Escovedo* his life, made others unwilling and fearful to pleasure and gransie him with the like vilany.

Alas poor King, that could not finde one in the whole Realm to poyson a private man, and yet of late is waxen so rich and plentiful a Kingdom of murtherers as procurers, as *Manuel Aradrada*, *Xpofero de Moco*, *Rodorigo* Marquess *Stephano Ibacco*, and the Count *Fuentes*, as many executioners, as *Dr Lopas*, *Ferrara*, *Truoca*, *Williams*, and *Tork*, and more perswaders, as *Stanley*, *Holt*, *Frogmorton*, *Ower*, *Gefford*, *Northington*, *Paget*, *Tipping*, *Garret*, and *Naddel*; all of one mind, but of sundry Nations; of one desire, but of divers conditions; of one conspiracy, but of contrary vocations; to poyson a stranger, a woman, a

Virgin, a Princess; one person having in one body four sundry qualities worthy of justice, of pity, favour, and honour: for who doth not justice to a stranger, as God's word commandeth, pitieth not a woman, as man's Law willeth, favoureth not a virgin, as humanity requireth, honoureth not a Princess, as God's word, man's law, and humanity prescribe:

This only action of barbarous inhumanity requireth a whole and large volume, but I must strive to be short; and if you call to mind what hath been said already, you shall find matter enough to enlarge and aggravate this inhumanity; and therefore briefly to the rest of the objections.

An oath promissory not being grounded upon a just and good cause, bindeth not a man to any performance; but can there be a better consideration then the gift of a Kingdom? Or a greater forfeiture then the loss of a Crown and Royal Diadem? The gift is contained in these words, [*We make you our King*] and the forfeiture is expressed in these words [*You shall not be our King unless you keep our Laws*] The condition is usual and ordinary, for the Emperour as soon as he is chosen, taketh the like oath, when he sweareth to conserve and maintain the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, dignities and priviledges of the Electors of the sacred Empire, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal; and it seemeth, that as the seven Electors in recompence of their good will and curtesie shewed to the Emperour of the world, received this bounty of him, so the Nobility of *Aragon*, in regard of the favour which they shewed unto their King, in making choice of him for their King, received the like benefit at his hands, and therefore have good occasion to be no less grieved if he chance to break this oath, then the Nobility of *England* should have cause to be sorry, if after a number of good and gracious Princes, who have alwaies duly kept and observed the ancient Laws and Liberties of our Realm, and especially in the trial and arraignment of Noblemen, the Almighty should plague them with such a Prince as would not suffer them to be tryed and arraigned according to the old and laudable custome of this noble Kingdom, by an honourable Jury of twelve Peers, but by a beggarly crew of so many base companions.

The promise then is good and better for the oath, but the oath may be broken, and a dispensation will salve the sore of the breach. He that offendeth in hope of a pardon, is not thought worthy to be pardoned, and although it be a greater commendation in a Prince to be prone to shew mercy, ready to forgive, and willing to pardon offences committed against himself or his Laws, yet it is scant tolerable to forgive notorious sins and trespasses against God.

I find that Princes may dispence with Bastardy, restore infamous persons to their good name and fame, make their own children legitimate, not as their Fathers, but as their Princes; not as their children, but as their subjects; free and emancipate bondmen; briefly, pardon and forgive all crimes committed against their Temporal Laws.

But the Cannons (of which the Spanish King will seem to have more regard then any other Prince of that Religion) permit not his Catholique Majesty to dispense with an oath; that is a priviledge and prerogative which the Pope hath reserved to the fulness and plenitude of his

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own part, and would not take it in good part, that his white son should challenge or assume unto himself any such authority; and he as a dutiful and loving childe, will be loth to offend so good and loving a father. But the father in regard of his long and loyal obedience, will absolve him of his oath. If his Fatherly love should make him forget himself so much, as to dispense at one time, not with one, but many crimes; the son and the father should without all doubt highly offend their heavenly father, and voluntarily break the sacred constitutions of their reverend predecessors.

For the Pope cannot dispence with wilful murder, such as was the violent death of *Escovedo*; nor with any thing done against the Laws of Nature, such as the breach of this contract should be; nor with an oath, such as this oath is, without calling and citing all the parties that should be interested and damnified by the violation and breach of this oath.

But grant that the Pope will dispense with this Oath, what would or could all avail, when the contract should still remain in full strength and vertue, and the Aragonian Nobility might notwithstanding this dispensation urge their King to the performance thereof? Truly this absolution should benefit him no more, then it should avail a creditor to sue his debtor for one hundred pounds, unto whom he owed so much upon account; for such a creditor, when he hath with long suit and great charge recovered his debt, is presently to restore the same back again upon his accompt: So the Spanish King, when he hath with great difficulty, and perhaps with some expences, made himself beholding to the Pope for his dispensation, must notwithstanding the benefit thereof perform the conditions that was of sufficient strength without the oath, and was confirm'd with an oath for no other purpose, but that it should be the great burthen unto his Conscience, if he should violate his contract.

But how may the Aragonian Noblemen enforce him to perform and keep his contract? By forfeiting his Kingdom, by taking away his rents, and by putting the Laws whereunto he was sworn into execution. But he is too mighty, and they too weak to compel him thereunto by main force. What remedy shall you then find against him? The course is ordinary; For every Bishop hath power to compel any man that is sworn, to keep and observe his oath, which hath alwaies *paratum executionem*, and is so true, that the trial of a contract confirmed with an oath depending before a Temporal Magistrate, a Bishop, or Ecclesiastical Judge, may by reason of that oath avocate the same cause unto his hearing and determination: And this is the reason why many Doctors are of opinion, and especially *Baldus*, that an oath hath the vertue and operation to draw a matter from one Court to another.

But what Prelate in *Spain* dareth be so bold as to call his King into his Ecclesiastical Court? If the Prelate will not presume to stand in defence of the Laws, there is another ordinary way. A subject of the Emperour may without going to any other Judge, convent the Emperour himself before the Pope, if he will not maintain his bargain or contract; and if the Emperour may be immediately convented by his own subjects before the Pope, with much more reason may the Spanish

Jason in
leg. mil. n. 7

Bald: in
anth. sacr.
puber. in
3. coll.

King be called in this case to *Rome*, to answer the contempt of his oath, as well because he is inferiour to the Emperour, by many degrees, as for that the peers of his Realm, and the whole Nobility of *Aragon*, are of better consideration, and more regard then any private subject.

I finde that the Laws and common consent of all Doctors, allow subjects, when their princes will not do them right and justice, three principal remedies against such Princes.

The first, That subjects may compel their Prince by his Superiour, if he have a Superiour to whom he oweth homage and duty, to try the equity of his cause before that Superiour.

The second, That a Subject may convent his adversary before the common Ordinary of the Diocess, if his Lord and Prince chance to be negligent in the administration of Justice.

The third, That the Prince denying to do justice to his subjects, may lawfully be deprived of his power and royal authority over them.

The first and second perhaps will not seem fit to be practised against the Spanish King; for that although he be a subject unto the Pope for many of his Kingdoms, yet he will hardly acknowledge that subjection.

The third is more proper, and therein the question may be, whether subjects can lawfully expel their Prince out of his Country, and from his Crown and Dignity, if he do oppress them too much? Some men hold hardly for the affirmative; and *St. Thomas* holdeth an opinion, that they may lawfully kill such a Prince, and that it were a work somewhat meritorious; And this opinion is condemned by others; and the Council of *Constance* determined the contrary against *Saint Thomas*; and yet all agree in this, That subjects need not obey such a prince.

In this contrariety I think (*salvo meliori judicio*) that the best course is, to admonish such a prince of his duty, and to pray him to reform, and reform all that is amiss. But who shall admonish him? His best subjects, and other princes; and if after such admonition he shall still remain incorrigible, then may his actions, his cruelties, his tyrannies be made known unto the world; and after this Declaration duly justified, and truly certified to all Christian princes, it may be lawful to implore, and employ their help and assistance for the speedy suppressing such a manifest and incorrigible oppressor and tyrant.

But the Emperour is too weak, and the Pope will not be willing to joyn against the Spanish King.

The Emperour will be strong enough, if other princes may be entreated to joyn with him in this honourable action; and the means to perswade him, and entreat them, hath been declared already.

It resteth therefore to shew, that the pope may be brought to enter into this action; it may be doubted that the pope will be hardly induced to displease and offend so mighty a prince, and so faithful a friend as the Spaniard.

You have heard that *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the seventh crossed his father, who was alwaies mightier then he; and when they saw him to grow to strength, they sought means to weaken him, by joyning in league against him with divers French Kings: But to leave his late predecessor, and to come to himself; Was there not a pope who in the
flower

flower of the Spanish King's youth, when he had not one foot in the grave, as he hath now, did openly oppose himself against him? Did he not imprison his Ambassador *Garcilase de la Vega*, when he was sent unto him about matters of great weight, and of greater benefit to all Christendom? Did he not cast *John Antonio* his postmaster at *Rome* into prison? Did he not command that there should be no more any such officer in *Rome*, which had continued there for a number of years together? How many times did he stay his Ambassadour sent out of *Spain* to other princes, took away their packets, opened their letters, and read them? Did he not oftentimes, when he meant to deceive the Spaniard, send him Ambassadours, to entertain him with vain hopes; and when they were half way towards *Spain*, revoke them, and command them to go with the said Letters, and the same conditions, unto other princes? Did he not in the Decree against *Asconio Casicaco*, declare his Catholique Majesty to be an open and professed enemy unto the See of *Rome*? What could he do more then all this unto the Turk, the common enemy of Christendom? What have the later popes done more then all this against the late French King *William*, for the Spaniards sake they made their professed enemy? And why may not this pope be induced with the report of all that hath been already said, to as much as all this against the Spaniard, now that he declineth, that he is going to the grave; or against his son that shall be coming into the world, and may be of more terror unto *Italy*, and the rest of Christendom, then his grandfather or his Father, because he is heir to as many Kingdoms as they were, and is likely to succeed his father, when he shall be very young and youthfull.

I have said enough to make the Spaniard hateful and odious to all the world, but I may not end without adding somewhat more to all that I have said.

The seditious Author inveigheth most bitterly against the French King for his two murders; but I have shewed, that the Spaniard hath committed many more then two; and I must add to these murders, the unlawful execution of *Diego de Meneses*, sometimes Vice-roy of the Indies, and the Governour of *Gusab*, of *Henry Perera*, Captain of the same Town, of *Emanuel Seradas*, of the Count de *Terras Vedras*, of *Peter Alpeene*, and *Sforza Ursino*, whom he caused to be poysoned.

The same Author aggravateth (as I have said) the French Kings murder, because he killed an Ecclesiastical person; and I promised to shew you that the Spaniard hath killed many more then one; witness Fryer *John*, who because he stood for the liberty of his Country, was hanged in the Isles of *Madera*; witness Fryer *Hector Pinto*, who was poysoned by the Souldiers of *Castile*; witness *James de Moronake*, who was beaten to death with Souldiers, although he was brother to the Earl of *Myra*; witness many others, who were either thrown into the Seas, or hanged, or poysoned.

The same Author burthened the late French King to be an author of heretiques, because he did not utterly subvert the protestants in his Realm; but I have cleared him of that accusation at large, and yet forgot to tell you, that he did more against the protestants in his Realm, then the Spaniard did in his Dominions; and he had done much more then

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then he did, had the Spaniard not favoured the protestants against him, and had he not known that it was not Religion, but private quarrels, that caused a division in his Kingdom; and this division was, as you have heard, and shall hear, maintained and nourished by the Spaniard.

For when the troubles began first in *France*, the princes of *Vendosme* and *Conde* being displeased with the greatness of the House of *Guise*, drew into their faction and side, the Houses of *Montmorency* and *Chastilian*, that they might be the better able, with their help, to prevent and withstand the encrease and advancement of the late Duke of *Guise*, his Father, and Uncle, who had usurped and gotten into their hands, all the authority, credit, and power of the Kingdom, during the minority of *Francis* the second their Nephew; afterwards the same Duke of *Guise* and the Constable fall into variance, for no other cause, but for that the first was jealous of the other, both of them being in great favour and credit with *Henry* the third.

Four principal causes encreased and nourished the contention between these two princes.

The first was the office of great Master of *France*, which the King gave unto the Duke of *Guise*, when he made the Duke of *Montmorency* Constable of *France*, who was great Master before, and had a promise of the King that the office should have been reserved for his son.

The second occasion of their discontentment was, the Earldom of *Dampmartin*, which both of them had bought of sundry persons, pretending right thereunto; and when they had sued for the same a long time in Law, the Constable obtained the suit.

The third cause of their discontentment was, because the one of them seeking by all means possible to discredit and disgrace the other, the Constable procured the Duke of *Guise* to be sent into *Italy*, that he might in his absence possess the King wholly and alone, and when he was there, he could not do any thing worth his labour, or worthy of commendation; because the Constable either fore-slowed or hindred his business: But the Duke of *Guise* being returned out of *Italy*, and finding that the Constable was taken prisoner at *St Lawrence*, to be revenged of the indignities offered whilst he was in *Italy*, procured that the Constable was held a long time in prison, and used all the policies that he could devise, to delay and defer his deliverance, the which delays occasioned his Nephews of *Chastilian* to crave aid and assistance of the late King of *Navarra*, and the Prince of *Conde* his brother, who had married his Niece.

The fourth and last cause of their strife and difference was, the competency between the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Famville*, for the office and charge of Colonel of the light Horsemen of *France*. This debate and emulation being begun, and having continued a long time in this manner, it hapned that the first Author thereof being dead, the Duke of *Guise* prevailed too much in the French Court, the which the Lords of *Chastilian* perceiving, to their great sorrow and discontentment, left the Court, and in returning from thence (were it in earnest or in policy) began to favour the *Lutherans* of *France*, who at that time began to preach in cellars, and in houses secretly, and became their friends,

friends, more to defend themselves from the House of *Guise*, then to seek and procure any alteration or change of Religion, until that the King himself at the instigation and instance of the Duke of *Famville*, took Monsieur de *Andeles* at *Cressy*, and sent him prisoner to *Molin*, and imprisoned the Videan of *Chatres*, and many others.

These imprisonments and years of further mischiefs, caused the friends and followers of the Constables, to prepare with great silence and secrecy, a mighty Army in *Germany*, with which he purposed to make an horrible execution of the House of *Guise*, under a colour to free the King from that bondage, wherein the late Dukes of *Guise* and *Amale* held him, of which followed the great execution of *Amboise*, the rigorous commandment that was given to the King of *Navarra*, and the imprisonment of the Prince of *Conde*, at the assembly of States held at *Orleans*, and many other accidents, which had continued with far greater cruelty, then was used against the Houses of the Constable, and of *Chastilian*, had not the sudden death of the young King prevented the bloody intentions of the House of *Guise*.

The unexpected death of the young King, perplexed and dejected the House of *Guise* much, and surely they had been reduced unto extremam desperation, had not the Spanish King revived their hope, and put them in great comfort; who until he saw them in great extremity, stood in doubt which part to favour most; and kindled the fire of dissention on both sides, to the end it might at the length burn and consume *France*, in such manner as it did of late years.

It was the Spanish King that (when the King of *Navarra* was made Governour of *Charles* the ninth, and the Constable restored to his ancient Honour and Dignity) supported the Duke of *Guise*, and gave him such counsel, that he both won the King of *Navarra*, and the Constable to favour him and his enterprises, against their own Brothers and Nephews, and took the young King and his Mother at *Fountain-bleau*, and carried them to *Melind*.

The Queen-mother grieved with this captivity of the King and her self, was fain to entreat the Prince of *Conde*, and the Lords of *Chastilian*, to help to set him and her at liberty: And then the said Prince and Lords not being able to resist of themselves so mighty enemies as the *Guise*s were, especially being aided with the power and authority Royal, became protestants in good earnest, and declaring themselves Protectors and Heads of the *Huguenots*, craved their assistance, wherewith they seized upon many Cities of *France*, not making any mention of their Religion, but pretending to free the King and his Mother from that captivity wherein the House of *Guise* held them.

It was the King of *Spain*, who when the Duke of *Guise* was slain at *Orleans* by *Poltroi*, practised with the Cardinal his Brother to entertain and maintain the divisions in *France*, not to subvert the Lutherans, but to weaken the Kingdom; wherein the Cardinal proceeded so cunningly, that he drew the Queen-mother from the Prince of *Conde*, and the *Chastilians*, by whom she was set at liberty, by perswading that the Prince of *Burbone*, the Constable, and the *Chastilians* sought her utter ruine and subversion, and would never leave until they had sent her into *Italy*, unto her friends there; for which she conceived so great displeasure

sure and indignation against them, that she caused the one brother to be killed at the Battel of *Farvack*, and the other at the Massacre of *Paris*; it is thought that if the *Montmorencies* had been there at the same time, they had drunk of the same cup.

Thus you see that the troubles of *France* grew not for Religion, but for competency and emulation that was betwixt the House of *Guise* and the *Chastilians* and *Montmorency*, then those competencies were nourished by the Spaniard for his benefit, and not to subvert the protestants, and that the King might and would easily have reduced all his subjects to one Religion, had not the Spaniard hindred his course; for even towards his latter days, perceiving that wars were not the right and ready means to subvert the protestants, he took another way, which was, to forbid them to resort to the Court, or to enjoy any Offices, Dignities, Governments or Benefices, whereby he made the old Hugonots cold in their Religion, and to suffer their children to become Catholics, that they might be admitted as well as others unto Honours, and that very few or none that were not protestants before, fell to the open profession of their Religion; which course if it were taken with both kind of Recusants in *England*, would sooner call them home, then other courses that are taken against them.

Again, The same Author thought the French King worthy of deprivation, because he was in his opinion disloyal, and not trusty unto his old and ancient friends, and favoured not the House of *Guise* so much as they deserved; the which crime may very well be returned upon the Spanish King; who when he might have pleased one of his best friends, and one of the mightiest Kinsmen that he had, refused to pleasure the one or the other; when the pleasure done unto them, should greatly have benefitted all Christendom.

For when as Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, purposing with the aid and assistance of certain Christian Princes, to have undertaken a sudden enterprise against the Turk, to the benefit and augmentation of Christendom, prayed the Spaniard to have some help and succour, he not only refused to send him any manner of help, but also would not lend him any of his Gallies, which the Pope offered to have entertained, and sent to that enterprize at his own charges.

But this unkindness was nothing in respect of the discourtesie and disloyalty which he shewed unto Don *Sebastian* late King of *Portugal*, the which unnatural and unkinde practise all Christendom hath occasion to lament; for when as *Sebastian* intending to aid *Muly Mahomet* King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, against *Muly Malucco* his brother, who had driven him out of his Kingdom; which intention, by reason of the profitable composition which *Sebastian* had made with the said *Mahomet*, had greatly advanced all Christendom, required the Spaniard (his Uncle) to give him help towards this honourable action; he promised to furnish him with fifty Gallies well appointed, and with four thousand fighting Souldiers: The which when *Malucco* heard, he offered him presently certain Maritime Cities if he would not assist his Nephew; the which condition the covetous Spaniard accepted, and was not ashamed to forsake his own Kinsman, and a Christian King, and entred into League with a barbarous Infidel: But he was rewarded accordingly; for when he
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sent *Vernegas* his Ambassadour to take possession of the City *Zaracha*, and of other Towns that were promised unto him: The Barbarians mocking him for his covetousness and disloyalty, made his Ambassador to dislodge with cannon shot.

But he forsook his Nephew (as some say) of purpose; knowing, that for his honour, and the maintenance of his promise, *Don Sebastian* would adventure himself in that enterprize, although he had not help from the Spaniard, and losing his life in defence of so honourable a quarrel, leave him a great possibility to attain unto the Kingdom of *Portugal*; which fell out (as you have heard) according to his expectation.

Lastly, The same Author concludeth the French King to deserve to be deprived of his Crown, because he was in his opinion a Tyrant.

But you shall hear the marks whereby a Tyrant is known, and then judge whether he or the Spaniard may best be called and reputed a Tyrant.

Bartol in his short Treatise of Tyrannie, setteth ten principal observations to know and discern a Tyrant from a good and just King, which he took out of *Plutarch* his book *de Regimine Principum*.

First, Such Princes kill the mightiest men in their country, that they may not rebel against them.

Secondly, They keep their doings hidden and secret from wise men, that they may not reprehend their actions, and provoke the common people to rebellion.

Thirdly, They suppress Learning, and the Students and Professors thereof, lest they should wax wise, and dislike their unlawful proceedings.

Fourthly, They suffer no great meetings, or general assemblies of their Subjects, lest that they should enter into some conspiracy against them.

Fifthly, They have their spies in every corner and place, to hearken and observe what men say of them; for knowing that they do not well, they alwaies fear to be ill spoken of, and therefore they entertain those spies very willingly.

Sixthly, They maintain their Subjects in Divisions, that the one part standing in continual fear of the other, both may be afraid to rebel.

Seventhly, They keep their subjects as low and poor as they can possible, that being continually occupied and busied in getting their livings, they may have no time or leisure to conspire against them.

Eighthly, They nourish wars, and send their souldiers afar off from home, because that by wars their subjects are impoverished, and they provided of sufficient souldiers to defend them in their unjust quarrels.

Ninthly, They have their guards of strangers, and not of their own subjects, because they stand in great fear of their own.

Lastly, When their subjects are divided, they favour the one part, that the other may the more easily be destroyed by their help.

These be the properties which *Bartol* examineth in this manner, to kill Noblemen, and not to spare his own brethren, is the action of a tyrant, unless the murder be grounded upon a just occasion; to suppress wise men is likewise tyrannical, except they commit some offence worthy of

death, to hinder Learning is not a work befitting a just Prince, unless he doth forbid the study of such Sciences as are not lawful and fit to be entertained in a Christian Commonwealth; to permit no assemblies of subjects, argueth tyrannical inhumanity, if their assemblies tend not to evil purposes: to entertain spies may be lawful, if it be for the punishment of sin, and not for the suppressing or false accusation of good and loyal subjects; to nourish divisions can in no wise be commendable, because a good Prince should procure his subjects peace, quiet, and tranquillity; to impoverish subjects is simply most unlawful; for that the wealth of their subjects is the riches of good Princes; and good Kings will rather labour to enrich them, then to impoverish them; to comfort, then to afflict them; to succour, then to leave them succourless; to procure forraign wars for any other cause but to avoid wars at home, is a manifest argument of a notable Tyrant; and especially if his wars be unjust: to have a guard of strangers may be lawful, if a Princes subjects may not be trusted, if they have been such as have been lately subdued, if prone and ready to rebel, and if they shewed themselves mutinous and disobedient unto good Princes: lastly, to destroy one faction by another, is of all actions the most inhumane of all inhumanity; because it behoveth a Prince to preserve his subjects at home and abroad, in time of peace, and in time of wars, against open adversaries, and secret enemies.

Now if you look back upon all that hath been said, you shall easily perceive, that all these marks may be found in the Spanish King, who hath not spared his son, his brother, his kinsman, his nobility and peers, whose Country hath (by the testimony of their own writers) no great store of learned men, whose natural subjects are employed in forraign services, whose forraign Dominions are maintained by domestical divisions, whose guard consisteth of Flemmings, although his Spaniards be the most trusty and loyal subjects that he hath, whose spies are infinite, or else his intelligences could not be so great as they are, whose subjects cannot be rich, because he fleeceth so much, whose wars are unlawful, because they are begun without just occasion, continued with iniquity, and performed with barbarous cruelty; briefly, whose studies, endeavours, and purposes, tend to no other end, but to weaken all Christian Princes, that he may tyrannize without comprolment, and make himself or successors monarchs of the whole world without resistance.

Then to conclude this Treatise, which is added only to give some light to the precedent matter. If it be perjury to break an oath willingly, sacrilege to murder, not only one, but many Ecclesiastical persons unjustly, hypocrisie to dissemble with friends cunningly, tyrannie to afflict subjects wrongfully, impiety to betray Christians unto Infidels wilfully, and to murder, kill, and massacre subjects unlawfully, I may more justly conclude then the French seditious author did against the late French King, that the Spanish monarch may be lawfully excommunicated and deposed, because all these crimes concur in him together, and that no wars of what nature soever, can be held unjust and unlawful, that shall be enterprised and exercised against him, so long as he shall continue to be as he is; the common and only perturber of Christian peace and tranquillity.

F I N I S.